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# INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE

TO THE

MIDDLE AND NEW INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES





# INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE

## MIDDLE AND NEW INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES

BY

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SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE  
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MAIN

TO  
MY FATHER  
AND TO  
THE MEMORY OF  
MY MOTHER





## INTRODUCTION

THE united evidence of comparative linguistics, ethnography, and religion has established the doctrine of Indo-Iranian unity on a firm foundation, thereby affording a cardinal doctrine for the comparative study of Sanskrit, Avestan, and Old Persian. The work of Wackernagel and of Bartholomae, based upon this principle, has given the older dialects of the Indo-Iranian their due. But, on the other hand, the phonology of the Middle and New periods of this group has not thus far received the attention which it deserves, and it is in an attempt to supply the deficiency that this volume has been written. It aims to prove that the later Indo-Iranian dialects are still closely akin, and have had in many instances analogous developments, which are legitimate evolutions of processes acknowledged in the oldest Indo-Germanic languages of India and Iran.

*A priori* we should expect dialects derived from a common source to pursue similar courses of phonological development, as far as their surroundings, changing in course of time, permit. To deny this seems tantamount to attacking the entire principle of phonetic law on which comparative linguistics must rest. To affirm it is to give new strength to scientific research. The Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages show many developments in phonology which may be paralleled with entire justice. To such similarities I have sought to call attention, and I hope that the material which has been gathered may be of service to other linguistic students, and prove that the underlying principle of the book has its justification.

A paper of mine, entitled *Certain parallel Developments in Pāli*

and *New Persian Phonology*, read before the American Oriental Society at Cambridge, Mass., in April, 1899 (*JAOS.*, xx. 229-243), outlined the method which I have followed in this book. I advanced my views on the comparison of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects before the Society in the following words :

‘It is a well-known fact in linguistics that languages which are entirely without influence one on the other often show a striking similarity in their development. The Indo-Iranian group is especially instructive in this regard, for its time-limit extends from the period of Indo-Iranian unity to the present day, while its geographical area stretches from the Sinhalese in the south to the Māzandarānī in the north, and from the Kurdish in the west to the Bangālī in the east. Between the Indian and the Iranian divisions of the Aryan dialects a development may be traced which is frequently closely parallel. . . . Such a study, which it is my hope and intention to make, might be of service in the study of dialectic developments in general, and although confined to the Indo-Iranian dialects, it might by its implications be not altogether without bearing on the interests of the great body of the Indo-Germanic phonology.’

The result of the investigations which I there proposed to make has been, at least to me, a signal confirmation of my belief.

Mine is not the first attempt to parallel the phonological evolution of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The first Orientalist who, so far as I know, drew attention to the connexion between the two great modern dialect-groups was Reland. He wrote in his study *De linguis insularum orientalium* (‘Dissertationes miscellaneae,’ iii. 86, Traj. ad Rhenum, 1708), ‘Nonnullae voces [linguae singalaeae] cum Persicis conveniunt, uti *Aswajaa*, equus, اسپ *Asp*, *Rahasa*, arcanum, راز *Raz*, ܪܬܐ *Chaldaeis*, arcanum. *Bandinjai*, ligo, بند *Band*, *Dewijan*, Deus, Pers. دیو *Div*, Genius.’ (Cf. also Benfey, *Gesch. der Sprachwissensch.*, 241.) A very similar suggestion was made exactly a century later, when ‘en 1808 John Leyden fait du zend un dialecte pracrit, parallèle au pali, le pali étant identique au magadhi des grammairiens et le zend à leur

sauraseni. En 1819, Erskine fait du zend un dialecte sanscrit importé de l'Inde en Perse par le fondateur de Magisme, mais n'ayant jamais été parlé par les indigènes de Perse' (Darmesteter, *Le ZA.*, i. p. xxi, cf. *SBE.*, iv. 2, p. xxiii). In 1873 Trumpp in his *Grammar of the Paṣtō or Language of the Afghāns compared with the Īrānian and North-Indian Idioms* revived the view that the later Indo-Iranian dialects were closely connected linguistically, even though his work was vitiated by his false theory that Afyān is 'an old independent language, forming the first transition from the Indo-Ārian to the Īrānian family, and therefore partaking of the characteristics of both' (p. xii. Cf. the approving remarks of Hoernle, *Comp. Gramm.*, xxxiv-xxxv, as contrasted with Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, p. lix). Finally, in 1898, Horn, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 35 Anm., compared the Iranian change of *r* to *ē* in Skt. *vykṣa* 'tree,' Av. *varəša* : Phl. *vēšak*, New Pers. *bēšah* with the Prākritic *gēha* 'house' beside *gṛha* (see below, § 78). The same scholar also alludes to the mutations common to both dialect-groups of initial *y* to *j*, of intervocalic *k* to *g*, or its syncope, of the epenthesis of *-ary-* to *-ēr-*, and of the apparent substitution of *y* for intervocalic *d* and *g* (see below, §§ 331, 116, 128, 8, 256, 143). Geiger, *ibid.*, 208, notes that the occasional interchange of *l* and *n* in Afyān may be paralleled in Indian (see below, § 281). Against the view held by Geiger and Horn, Hübschmann has expressed himself emphatically (*IF. Anz.*, x. 23), but his objection seems to me scarcely valid.

The Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects which I have considered may be classified as follows :

a. Indian. 1. Middle Indian or Prākrit. This group embraces Māhārāṣṭrī, the Prākrit *kar'* ἐξοχόν, with Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhi (also called Ārṣa and Jaina Prākrit), and Śāurasēnī, the principal Prākrit of the drama. These form the literary dialects called *bhāṣā* by Mārkaṇḍeya, while the lower Prākrits used in literature, Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī, Śābarī, and others form Mārkaṇḍeya's *vibhāṣa* class. The other Middle Indian groups are Apabhraṁśa and Pāisācī. Apabhraṁśa denotes the Middle

Indian vernaculars as distinguished from the Prākrits or literary dialects of the period. Pāisācī together with Cūlikāpāisācī seems to have comprised the dialects of the north and west of India (Pischel, *Gramm. der Prākrit-Spr.*, §§ 1-30, cf. also Hoernle, *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311-332; Grierson, *ibid.*, ci. 258-274). A somewhat peculiar position is held by the so-called Gāthā dialect of the Lalita-vistara, and by the Prākrit of the inscriptions (Pischel's 'Lēṇadialekt'). The Gāthā dialect is an artificial composition of Prākrit bases with Sanskrit inflections (Macdonell, *Hist. of Skt. Lit.*, 25-26), while the Lēṇa dialect, a popular Middle Indian *lingua franca*, shows many Sanskritisms in its Prākrit (or Apabhraṁśa) structure (Pischel, § 7). As Ardhamāgadhī and Jāina Māhārāṣṭrī became the sacred dialects of Jainism, so Pāli was the language of the southern Buddhist Church. From what district of India Pāli came is very uncertain. Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 90-91, very plausibly supposes that the country comprised by modern Gujarat was its home (for other views see E. Müller, *Pali Gramm.*, viii-ix). The Middle Indian languages are not descendants of Sanskrit, but of the Vedic dialect and its neighbours. Buried for a time by the literary supremacy of Sanskrit, they emerged when the religious movements of Buddha and Mahāvīra and the development of the drama gave them opportunity, and they then proved themselves worthy of cultivation in literature, both sacred and profane (Pischel, §§ 13-15).

2. New Indian. The New Indian dialects are derived from the Apabhraṁśas or folk-dialects of the Prākrits. Any attempt to trace rigidly Modern Indian dialects to specific Middle Indian predecessors is difficult with the sources now under our control. Pischel, § 5, derives Gujarātī, or Marwārī, from Śāurasēnī-Apabhraṁśa, Marāṭhī from Māhārāṣṭrī-Apabhraṁśa, while Bihārī and Western Bangālī seem to come from Māgadhī-Apabhraṁśa through the Lāṭ, or Pillar, dialect. The Indian basis of Sīnhalese and Māladive is derived from a dialect closely akin to Pāli (Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 86-93). Hoernle, *Comp. Gramm.*, xxiv-xxv, and *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311-332, Beames, *Comp. Gramm.*, i.

6-7, 33-34, and Grierson, *Seven Grammars . . . of the Bihārī Language*, pt. i, Calcutta, 1883, 3-7, should also be consulted.

I have discussed the New Indian dialects in the following order: Assamese, Nāipālī, Kaśmīrī, Uṛiyā, Bangālī, Bihārī, Hindī, Panjābī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Sinhalese and its older form Eḷu, Mālādivē, and Gypsy. There are numerous sub-dialects in all of them. The most comprehensive classification of these languages is in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India, First, Rough List*, Calcutta, 1898. Here, for instance, sixty-four sub-dialects of Gujarātī are given with their districts and the number of persons speaking them; Bangālī has sixteen varieties of vernacular, and Western Hindī fifty-two. For further information see Cust, *Modern Languages of the East Indies*, London, 1878, 35-64, 158-161; Beames, *Comp. Gramm.*, i. 96-107; Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 88-89.

Language maps of India should also be consulted, such as those given in Hoernle's *Comp. Gramm.*, and his edition of the *Prākṛta-Lakṣaṇa*, Calcutta, 1880; Beames's *Outlines of Indian Philology*, London, 1868; Grierson's *Seven Gramm. of Bihārī*, i; Cust's *Mod. Lang. of the East Ind.*; Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Westminster, 1893, plate 10, and others.

b. Iranian. 1. Middle Iranian. The sole surviving representative of Middle Iranian is Middle Persian, or Pahlavī, which is closely related to Old Persian (Salemann, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. 225-226).

2. New Iranian. New Iranian dialects are exceedingly numerous. They are divided as follows: New Persian and the dialects of the Pāmīr, Caspian, and Central districts, Afyān, Balūcī, Kurdish, and Ossetish. The Pāmīr dialects include Wāxī, Šīynī, Sariqolī, Rōšānī, Tājikī, Sanglicī, Minjānī or Mungī, Yidyah, and Yaynōbī (Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Phil.*, i. b. 290-291). Caspian dialects are Samnānī, Māzandarānī, Lāhijānī, Gilakī, Tālīšī, and Tāt (Geiger, 346-348). The Central dialects embrace Gabrī, Šīrāzī, Bahbahānī, Sivēndī, Yazdī, Zafrāhī, Kašāhī, Vōnīšūmī, Kuhrudī, Nāyīnī, Natanzī, and Kāšānī (Geiger, 381-383). The Afyān



dialects are the Northern and Southern, which do not differ materially from each other (Geiger, 203 ; Darmesteter, *Chants pop.*, p. iv). Balūcī, the most primitive of all the New Iranian dialects, has two divisions, Northern and Southern (or Makrānī), which diverge considerably. The greater portion of Balūcī literature is in the Northern vernacular, but the Makrānī is the more primitive speech. North Balūcī is divided into Layārī in the North and Marrī in the South, while Southern Balūcī comprises Eastern and Western sub-dialects (Geiger, 232). The chief divisions of Kurdish are Lūrī, Kirmānšāhī, Gūrānī, Mukrī, and Zaza (Socin, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 249-252, cf. Justi, *Kurd. Gramm.*, pp. xix-xxvii). The sub-groups of the Ossetish are Tagaurish or Irish, Ironish, in the (North-) East, Digorish or Dugorish, in the (North-) West, and Tualish in the South. Tagaurish, of which Tualish is merely a sub-dialect, is by far the most important Ossetish vernacular (Hübschmann, *Etymol. und Lautl. der oss. Spr.*, 11-12). The admirable summary of New Iranian by Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 417-423, and his language chart, *ibid.*, 421, should be consulted in this connexion. Recent bibliography on Middle and New Indo-Iranian may be gathered from Scherman's *Orientalische Bibliographie*, and older literature is collected by Pott, *Techmer's Zeitschrift*, ii. 109-115, 209-213, 230-234, 241-248.

I have intentionally refrained throughout my work from foot-notes and references to my sources, which would have unduly increased the size of the book. I have endeavoured, however, to work through the principal literature on my subject, and to be as complete as possible. For the Prākṛit I had to rely mainly on Hēmacandra (ed. Pischel, Halle, 1877-1880), Vararuci (ed. Cowell<sup>2</sup>, London, 1868), and the Prākṛta-lakṣaṇa (ed. Hoernle, Calcutta, 1880). Lassen's *Institutiones linguae praecliticae*, Bonn, 1837 ; Hoerne, *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311-332, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvii. 1-48, also furnished hints. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1900, did not appear until after my manuscript was in the printer's hands. I have used it, nevertheless,



in correcting my proof, although sometimes, for typographical reasons, errors in the Prākṛit, arising from too close adherence on my part to the native grammarians, could be checked only by a reference to Pischel (e. g. §§ 25, 57, 121, 184, etc.). For Ardhamāgadhi I relied mainly on E. Müller's *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprākṛit*, Berlin, 1876; for Māhārāṣṭrī on Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, Leipzig, 1886, and for the 'Gāthā dialect' on E. Müller, *KB.*, viii. 257-292, and Lefmann, *ZDMG.*, xxix. 212-234. The material on the Lēṇa dialect is drawn from Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, Paris, 1881-1886. I used for Pāli the grammars of E. Müller (London, 1884), Frankfurter (London, 1883), Minayeff (tr. Guyard, Paris, 1874); Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pali-Grammatik*, Berlin, 1876, and articles by Mitra, *JRASBe.*, xxiii. 604-614, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvi. 275-313.

For the New Indian I had, of course, the excellent, though somewhat antiquated, *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, by Beames, London, 1872-1879; Hoernle's *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudīan Languages*, London, 1880, and articles by Grierson, *ZDMG.*, xlix. 393-421, l. 1-42; *Calcutta Rev.*, ci. 258-274, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvi. 314-345, xvii. 99-182. Among my sources for individual New Indian dialects I may mention particularly Grierson's *Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihārī Language*, Part I, Calcutta, 1883, and his papers on Kāśmīrī phonology, *JRASBe.*, lxxv. 280-305, lxxvi. 180-184; Kellogg, *Grammar of the Hindi Language*, Allahabad, 1876; Trumpp, *Grammar of the Sindhi Language*, London, 1872 (cf. *ZDMG.*, xv. 690-752); and the articles on Sinhalese by Kuhn, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.philol. Cl.*, 1879, 399-434 (tr. D. Fergusson, *IA.*, xiii. 53-65); E. Müller, *IA.*, xi. 198-220, and Geiger, *Abh. M. Ac. der Wiss., I. Cl.*, xxi. 177-273. The latter scholar's *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, Strassburg, 1901, and *Māldivische Studien*, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.philol. Cl.*, 1900, 641-684, *ZDMG.*, lv. 371-387, came in time to correct the final proof. My source for Gypsy phonology, a group of dialects to which I have referred but rarely,

is the study by Miklosich in the *Denkschriften der W. Ac. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Cl.*, xxx.

The Iranian material is far less scattered. For Pahlavī I relied mainly on the *Manuel de Pehlevi* of de Harlez, Paris, 1880; Spiegel's *Grammatik der Huzvâresch-Sprache*, Vienna, 1856; the edition of the Frahang-ī Oim and the Sassanian Frahang ('Old Zand-Pahlavi' and 'Old Pahlavi-Pazand' glossaries) by Hoshangji and Haug, Bombay and London, 1867-1870 (see the excellent new edition by Reichelt, *WZKM.*, xiv. 177-213, xv. 117-156), and the edition of *The Book of Arda Viraf* by Haug and West, Bombay and London, 1872-1874. Salemann's *Mittelpersisch* in the Geiger-Kuhn *Grundriss* came after the final proofs were read. This *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, edited by Geiger and Kuhn, Strassburg, 1895 to date, has been my main source for New Persian, the Pāmīr, Central, and Caspian dialects, Afyān, Balūcī, and Kurdish. It has been supplemented for New Persian material by Horn's *Neupersische Etymologie*, Strassburg, 1893, and Hübschmann's *Persische Studien*, Strassburg, 1895; for Afyān, by Trumpp's *Grammar of the Paštō*, London, 1873, Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, Paris, 1888-1890, and Geiger, *Abh. M. Ac. der Wiss., I. Cl.*, xx. 169-222; for Balūcī, by Geiger, *ibid.*, xix. 107-153, 399-464, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.-philol. Cl.*, 1889, 65-92; for Kurdish, by Justi's *Kurdische Grammatik*, St. Petersburg, 1880, and Fr. Müller's study on the Zaza dialect, *Sitzb. W. Ac. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Cl.*, xlviii. 227-245. The Ossetish material is drawn from Hübschmann's *Etymologie und Lautlehre der ossetischen Sprache*, Strassburg, 1887. I also consulted numerous other works and articles for minor points or without results.

I follow Brugmann's *Grundriss* for the Indian transcription and the Geiger-Kuhn *Grundriss* for the Iranian, with a few additions and modifications, which follow. Indian : *m* instead of *ṃ*, *ś* instead of *ṣ*, and *ṣ* for *ṣ*, also *r*, *rh*, *l* for cerebral *r*, *rh*, and *l* (*ḷ*). In Middle and New Indian I write *ē*, *ō* before single consonants, but *e*, *o* before consonant-groups; for Sindhī I add, according to the system of Trumpp and the Royal Asiatic Society, *ḡ*, *j̄*, *ḹ*, *ḹ*, 'uttered

with a certain stress in prolonging and somewhat strengthening the contact of the closed organ, as if one tried to double the sound at the beginning of a word' (Trumpp, *Grammar*, 13); for Sinhalese, *ā*, *ā̄* have been added according to Geiger's usage, although I here transcribe his *ñ*, *ñ̄* by *ñ*. Iranian: I transpose the functions of *č* and *c*, and of *ǰ* and *j*, to harmonize with the Indian system, so that *c*, *j* denote palatals, and *č*, *ǰ* affricatae; for Afyān *q* I write *α*, in Balūcī *i* instead of *ī*, in North Balūcī *kh*, *ch*, *th*, *ph* instead of *k*, *č*, *t*, *p*, and in Ossetish *a*, *i*, *c*, *ch*, *j*, *č*, *čh*, *ǰ* instead of Hübschmann's *ä*, *ī*, *tš*, *thš*, *dž*, *ts*, *ths*, *dz*. Socin's Kurdish transcription is conformed to the regular Iranian system and compared throughout with Justi.

Numerous parallels between the phonological phenomena here noted and sound-changes in other Indo-Germanic dialects will at once be perceived. Thus the syncope of *g* discussed in § 147 may be compared with the same process in Attic ἐγών: Boeotian ἰών; Attic ὀλίγος: Tarentine ὀλίος; Latin *Iguvium*, Umbrian *Ikuvinus* beside later *Iiouinur* (cf. also § 143); Latin *rēgem*; Old French *rei*, Modern French *roi* (cf. Haag, *Vergleichung des Prakrit mit den romanischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1869; Brandreth, *JRAS.*, NS. xi. 287-316, xii. 335-364). Limitations of space prevented me from referring to such parallel phenomena in dialects outside the Indo-Iranian. For the same reason I abstained from any extensive explanations by physiological phonetics of the sound-changes which I have recorded, and from all discussion of inflection or syntax.

Errors of detail, explanation, and example will undoubtedly be found in my Phonology, and I shall be grateful for all corrections and additions. If, however, my cardinal theorem holds good, I shall feel that the work has been not in vain. I trust that the book may serve, besides its main purpose, as a contribution towards comparative lexicography of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages, and with this object in view I have cited examples from as large a number of dialects as possible. Throughout my work I have sought to present facts rather than theories. My general conclusions in each chapter are summarized at its beginning (see

§§ 1, 113, 460), and every paragraph is introduced by the results of my study of the material contained in it. The deductions gained from the entire book may be summarized thus: the phonological tendencies discernible as early as in the Old Indian and Iranian period have developed steadily, each on its own line, in the Middle and New dialects, and through regular divergency, no less than through similarity of evolution, the tie of Indo-Iranian unity is potent still.

To Professor Hopkins of Yale my thanks are due for his courtesy in lending me from his private library certain works of importance which would otherwise have been inaccessible. I am indebted to the excellent reader of the Oxford University Press, who has contributed in no small degree by his care to the accuracy of the book. Especially do I wish to express my gratitude to my friend and teacher, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, who has grudged neither time nor toil in his generous assistance. My student-life with him for *guru* at Columbia University, where this book was written, will ever be a happy memory. Well said the Sanskrit poet :

*ĕkam apy akṣaram yas tu guruḥ śiṣyē nivēdayēt  
prthivyām nāsti tad dravyam yad datvā sō 'nrṇā bhavēt.*

LOUIS H. GRAY.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Afγ.	= Afγān.	N.	= North.
Apab.	= Apabhraṃśa.	Nāip.	= Nāipālī.
Ardhamāg.	= Ardhamāgadhī.	Nat.	= Natanzī.
Ass.	= Assamese.	Nāy.	= Nāyīnī.
Av.	= Avesta.	nom. prop.	= nomen proprium.
Āvant.	= Āvantī.	O. H. Germ.	= Old High German.
Bahb.	= Bahbahānī.	Oss.	= Ossetish.
Bal.	= Balūcī.	Pāiś.	= Pāiśācī.
Bang.	= Bangālī.	Panj.	= Panjābī.
Bulg.	= Bulgarian.	Pāz.	= Pāzand.
Dig.	= Digorish.	Pers.	= Persian.
E.	= East.	Phl.	= Pahlavī.
Eng.	= English.	Prāk.	= Prākrit.
Gab.	= Gabrī.	Rōš.	= Rōšānī.
GAv.	= Gāθā-Avesta.	Śāk.	= Śākārī.
Gīl.	= Gīlakī.	Samn.	= Samnānī.
Gk.	= Greek.	Sangl.	= Sanglīcī.
Guj.	= Gujarātī.	Sarq.	= Sariqolī.
Gyp.	= Gypsy.	Śaur.	= Śaurasēnī.
Ind.	= Indian.	Śiyn.	= Śiynī.
Kaf.	= Kafirī.	Siñh.	= Siñhalese.
Kāś.	= Kāśānī.	Śīr.	= Śīrāzī.
Kaśm.	= Kaśmīrī.	Sīv.	= Sīvēndī.
Kuhr.	= Kuhrudī.	Skt.	= Sanskrit.
Kurd.	= Kurdish.	Span.	= Spanish.
Lat.	= Latin.	Tag.	= Tagaurish.
lexicog.	= lexicographical.	Tāl.	= Tālīsh.
Lith.	= Lithuanian.	Ur.	= Urīyā.
Māg.	= Māgadhī.	Vōn.	= Vōnīśūnī.
Māhār.	= Māhārāṣṭrī.	W.	= West.
Mar.	= Marāṭhī.	Yaγn.	= Yaγnōbī.
Māz.	= Māzandarānī.	YAv.	= Younger Avesta.
Med.	= Median.	Yidg.	= Yidgī.
Minj.	= Minjānī.	Zaf.	= Zafrāhī.
Mult.	= Multānī.		

\* = hypothetical forms.      > = becomes.      < = derived from.

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## LIFE

I, LOUIS HERBERT GRAY, was born April 10, 1875, at Newark, New Jersey, the only child of Thomas Jefferson and his wife, Anna Elizabeth (*née* Earl). My father is still living, but my mother died in September, 1899. My early education was received at home and at the Newark Academy, from which I graduated in 1892. Entering Princeton College the same year, I received the degree of A.B. in 1896, and remained there a year longer as Fellow in Classics, devoting special attention to Sanskrit and Avestan, in addition to Classical and Germanic linguistics. Feeling my interest drawn entirely to Oriental languages, I entered Columbia University in 1897, where I have remained three years. I was twice appointed Fellow in Indo-Iranian and I have pursued courses in Sanskrit, Pāli, Avestan, Old Persian, Pahlavi, New Persian, Armenian, Arabic, and Syriac. In 1898 I received from Columbia the degree of A.M. I am a member of the American and German Oriental Societies, and of the Twelfth International Congress of Orientalists. I have published 'The Metres of Bhartrihari,' *JAOS.*, xx. 157-159; 'Certain Parallel Developments in Pāli and New Persian Phonology,' *ibid.*, 229-243; 'Indo-Iranian Studies, i.,' *AJPh.*, xxi. 1-22; 'Contributions to Avestan Syntax, the Conditional Sentence,' *Ann. N. Y. Acad. Sci.*, xii. 549-588; 'Zur indogermanischen Syntax von \**nāman*,' *IF.*, xi. 307-313; 'The Indo-Iranian Deity Apam Napāt,' *Arch. f. Religionsw.*, iii. 18-51; and 'Classical Passages mentioning Zoroaster's Name,' which forms the fifth Appendix of Jackson's *Zoroaster*, pp. 226-273 (New York, 1899). I am also one of the regular contributors to the *Orientalische Bibliographie*. Of my teachers my special thanks are due to Professors E. Y. Robbins and J. P. Hoskins, of Princeton, and at Columbia to Professor R. J. H. Gottheil, and Mr. Yohannan, and most of all to Professor A. V. Williams Jackson.





# INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY

## VOWELS

§ 1. The vowels of the Indo-Iranian period have remained in general unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. But beside the many instances of preservation of an original vowel, there are numerous examples of changes either in quantity or in quality, or in both. The most striking mutations will be found in the cases of original *a* and *r*. The reasons why these two vowels are especially liable to change are not far to seek. Indo-Iranian *a* = Indo-Germanic *a*, *e*, *o*, *ā* is the most simple of all the vowels. It represents, moreover, the so-called 'natural vowel,' the basis of all articulate sounds, which lies midway between *ā* and *ō* (Sievers, *Phonetik*<sup>4</sup>, § 209). It is thus self-evident that the Indo-Iranian *a* is particularly liable to change. The changes in question are ordinarily due to the influence of surrounding consonants. Labials often colour *a* to *u*, and sibilants colour *a* to *i*. From such a change of *a* to *u*, *i*, a further development to *ō*, *ē*, or to *ū*, *ī* may take place.

Turning to *r*, it is well known that of all the Indo-Germanic languages only the Old Indian and the Avesta have preserved Indo-Germanic *r* unchanged (Old Indian keeping also Indo-Germanic *ṛ*, *ḷ*). Even the Old Indian has lost Indo-Germanic *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *ṛ̅*, and the Avesta has lost these sounds with Indo-Germanic *ṛ*, *ṝ* in addition. In the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects we find a continuation of the process already begun in the older period by which the sonant liquids and nasals lost their original values, and became coloured by the surrounding consonants. Thus Old Indian

*r*, Avesta *ərə*, became *ar*, *a*, *ra*, *ir*, *i*, *ri*, and the like in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

The changes of the other vowels from their values in the Indo-Iranian period are not without analogy to the changes of *a* and *r*, although they are more sporadic. Labials frequently colour *i* to *u* as sibilants colour *u* to *i*. The change of *i*, *u* to *a* seems to be due to a weakening of the old value of *i*, *u* to *a*.

The long vowels are subject to changes which are, generally speaking, analogous to those of the corresponding short vowels. Before two or more consonants all vowels, including also the Old Indian diphthongs, are to be considered short in the Middle and New Indian dialects. On the other hand, the simplification of a consonant-group is normally attended, in both the Indian and the Iranian dialects of the Middle and New periods, by the lengthening of a preceding short vowel.

The following paragraphs will contain more precise statements upon these several points in their proper places.

$$a = a.$$

§ 2. Indo-Iranian *a* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bharati* 'bears,' Prāk. *bharāi*, Pāli *bharati*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kaśm. *papī*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, Hindī, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhī *pakō*, Guj. ✓*pak*, ✓*pik* 'ripen,' Mar. *pik*, *pikā*, Gyp. *pakō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baraiti* 'bears,' Old Pers. *barati*, Phl. *baraṭ*, New Pers. *barad*, Gab. *bartmūn*, Kāš. *bartan*, Māz. *bavardan*, Gīl. *bardan*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Wāxī *yaš*, Minj. *yas(a)p*, Afγ. *aspā* (fem.), Bal. (*h*)*āps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*.

$$a > i.$$

§ 3. This change is not infrequent, either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects. As has been noted in § 1, the change of

*a* to *i* is due in many cases to the influence of a neighbouring sibilant.

a. Indian. In the Indian dialects *a* is changed to *i* more commonly in the West than in the East, so that the Sindhī shows the greatest number of examples of this phenomenon. The fondness of the Middle Indian dialects for the change was, on the whole, greater than that which is now shown by the New Indian.

Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Guj. ✓*pak*, ✓*pik*, Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *aṅgāra* 'coal,' Prāk., Jāina Prāk. *iṅgāla*, Guj. *iṅgār*, *iṅgōl*, Mar. *iṅgāl*, *iṅgōl*. Skt. *yathā* 'how,' *yatra* 'where,' Apab. Prāk. *jidhā*, *jetthu*, *jattu*, Pāli *yatthā*, *yatra*, Sindhī *jiti*. Skt. *dyūtakara* 'gambler,' Śāk. and Māg. Prāk. *jūdiala*. Skt. *tamasa* 'darkness,' Prāk. *tama*, Pāli *timisa*. Skt. *pañjara* 'cage,' Māg. Prāk. *pañjalaa*, Pāli *pañjara*, Ur. *piṁjira*, Hindī *piṁjar*, Sindhī *piṁir*. Skt. *kṣamā*, 'patience,' Prāk., Pāli *khamā* 'patience,' *chamā* 'earth,' Hindī *chimā*, *chamā*, Panj. *khimā*, Sindhī *khimā*, Guj. *khamā*. Skt. *varkara* 'goat,' Ur., Bang., Hindī *bakarā*, Panj. *bakkarā*, Sindhī *bakirō*, Guj. *bakarō*, Mar. *bōkar*, Gyp. *bakro*. Skt. \**prathara* 'first,' Hindī *pahalā*, *pahil*, Panj. *pahil*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, Sindhī *paharyōm*, *pahir(y)ōm*. Skt. *prahara* 'watch,' Prāk. *pahara*, Panj. *pahir*, other New Ind. dialects *pahar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *atarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ataš*, New Pers. (*ā*)*taš*, *ātiš*, Šīy. *yaš*, Sarq. *yuš*, Gab. *taš*, Minj. *yūr*, N. Bal. *āc*, Kurd. *agir*, *ār*, *ēr*, Zaza *ādir*. Av. *yākarā* 'liver,' Phl. *jakar*, *yakar*, New Pers. *jigar*, Bal. *jagar*, N. Bal. *jaṃyar*, Kurd. *jark*, Dig. Oss. *igar*. Av. *sata* 'hundred,' New Pers. *sad*, Afγ. *sal*, *sil*, Kurd. *sad*, Oss. *sada*. Av. *pairi* 'around,' Old Pers. *pariy*, Phl., New Pers. *par*, Bal. *pir* (cf. Sinh. *piri*). Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Šīy. *γin*, Sarq. *γīn*, *žin*, Minj. *žinga*, Gab. *jan*, Kuhr. *žan*, *jīn*, Zaf. *žan*, Afγ. *jīnāī*, *jūnāī*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *žan*, *žin*, Zaza *jan*. Av. *anya* 'other,' Old Pers. *aniya*, Pāz. *han*, archaic New Pers. *hān*, Oss. *inna*.

$a > u$ .

§ 4. The change of  $a$  to  $u$  in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is a very frequent one. It has been noted in § 1 that a labial often colours an original  $a$  to  $u$ .

a. Indian. As the change of  $a$  to  $i$  is more common in the western Indian dialects than in the eastern (see § 3, a), so the change of  $a$  to  $u$  is more frequent in the eastern dialects of India than in the western, and as  $a$  becomes  $i$  in Sindhī, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī, so  $a$  becomes  $u$  most often of all in Uṛiya and Bangālī.

Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Prāk. *paṭhuma*, *puḍhuma*, *puḷhama*, *paḍhama*, Pāli *paṭhama*. Skt. *pr̥thaktra* 'peculiarity,' Jāina Prāk. *pukutta*. Skt. *manuṣa* 'man,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *munisa*, *manusa*. Skt. *pañcaviṃśati* 'twenty-five,' Pāli *paññuvīsati*. Skt. *karkaṭika* 'cucumber,' Uṛ. *kām̐kurī*, Bang. *kām̐kur*, Hindī *kakarī*. Skt. *mudgara* 'club,' Prāk., Pāli *moggara*, Uṛ. *mōgarā*, Bang. *mugur*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhī *muñīrō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*. Skt. *aṅgulikā* 'finger,' Apab. Prāk. *aṅguliu*, Pāli *aṅgulikā*, Nāip. *auñlō*, Bihārī *aṅgurī*, Hindī *uṅgalī*, *aṅgulī*, Panj. *uṅgulī*. Skt., Pāli *dhanu* 'bow,' Simh. *dunu*. Skt. *manōrama* 'delightful,' Simh. *\*manurama-ka* > *manumaraka* 'grandson,' New Simh. *munuburā*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *samudda*, *samudra*, Pāli *samudda*, Simh. *\*hamuda* > *\*mahuda* > *muhuda*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vanā* 'tree,' Phl. *van*, New Pers. *bun*, Kāš. *bana*, Afy. *vana*, Bal. *gran*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Phl. *x<sup>v</sup>aṭai* 'God,' New Pers. *xudāi*, Šiy., Sarq. *qudā*, Kurd. *xadē*, *xudē*. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šavad*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuṭā*, Kurd. *cīan*, Oss. *caim*. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiy. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *sufōr*, Afy. *čalōr*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Wāxī *pus*, Afy. *psa*, Bal. *pas*, N. Bal. *phas*, Kurd. *paz*, Dig. Oss. *fus*, Tag. *fis*. Av. *✓x<sup>v</sup>an* 'call,' Phl.



*x<sup>v</sup>anʾanö*, New Pers. *x<sup>v</sup>āndan*, Wāxī *kandam*, Šiy. *šandam*, Sarq. *šāndam*, Bal. *vānag*, N. Bal. *vānag*, Kurd. *x<sup>v</sup>āndin*, *xāndin*, Oss. *xund*. Av. *taršna* ‘thirst,’ Phl. *tišn*, *tišnak(ih)*, New Pers. *tiš*, Šiy. *tašna(gī)*, Sarq. *tür(i)*, Gab. *tašna*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tažai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*.

*a > ā.*

§ 5. The change of *a* to *ā* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is due in the great majority of instances to compensatory lengthening, as noted in § 1. Sporadic cases of inorganic lengthening of an original *a* are not infrequent.

a. Indian. In the New Indian dialects Bangālī prefers the long vowel by compensatory lengthening before a simplified consonant-group, while Panjābī and Sindhī show short vowels, the Panjābī having a repeated consonant and the Sindhī a single one. Hindī stands midway between the two extremes in this regard. The Braj dialect of Hindī is especially fond of changing *a* to *ā*, and it is followed here by its sister dialects, the Mār-wārī, Māiwārī, and Kanāujī. In Marāṭhī the root-vowel of the infinitive is frequently lengthened.

Skt. *saṃṛddhi* ‘prosperity,’ Prāk. *sāmiddhi*, Pāli *samidḍhi*. Skt. *sarṣapa* ‘mustard,’ Jaina Prāk. *sāsava*, Pāli *sāsapa*. Skt. *sparśana* ‘touch,’ Prāk. *phāsa*, Pāli *phassa*. Skt. *pradakṣiṇa* ‘pertaining to the right hand,’ Gāthā *prādakṣiṇa*. Skt. *pakva* ‘ripe,’ Nāip. *pāk*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, etc. (see § 2). Skt. *vatsa* ‘calf,’ Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Ass. *bācru* (pron. *bāsrū*), Kaśm. *vūč*, Uṛ. *bāchurī*, Bang. *vācchā*, *bāccā*, E. Hindī *bāch*, Hindī *bacharā*, *bacharā*, Panj. *baccā*, Sindhī *ḷācō*, Guj. *baccō*, Mar. *bacrēm*, *vāsrūm*. Skt. *khaṭvā* ‘bedstead,’ Prāk. *khaṭṭā*, Uṛ. *khāṭa*, Bang. *khāṭ(alā)*, Hindī *khāṭ*, Panj. *khaṭṭ*, Sindhī *khāṭ*, Guj., Mar. *khāṭ*. Skt., Pāli *kacchapa* ‘tortoise,’ Uṛ. *kachima*, Bang. *kāchima*, Hindī, Panj. *kachūā*, Sindhī *kachūm*. Skt. *calana* ‘course,’ Uṛ. *cālibā*, Braj *cālanāum*, Hindī *calanā*, Mar. *cālaṇēm*. Skt. *satya* ‘true,’ Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Uṛ., Bang. *sacā*, Braj *sāmc*, Hindī *sac*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacō*, Guj., Mar. *sac*. Skt. *nagna* ‘naked,’

Prāk., Pāli *nagga*, Uṛ. *naṁgalā*, Bang. *nēmtā*, Hindī *naṁgā*, E. Panj. *naṁgā*, W. Panj. *nāṁgā*, Sindhī *naṁgō*, Guj. *nāguṁ*, Mar. *naṁgā*, *naggā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nakha* 'finger-nail,' Phl., New Pers. *nāxun*, Afy. *nūk*, Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, Kurd. *nainuk*. Skt. *parut* 'last year,' New Pers. *pār*, Wāxī *pard*, Sarq. *parvus*, Afy. *parōs*, Bal. *pārī*, N. Bal. *phārī*, Dig. Oss. *fara*, Tag. *faron*. Av. *hazaṁra* 'thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *hazār*, Wāxī *hazūr*, Sarq. *hazōr*, Afy. *zar*, Kurd. *hazār*. Av. *taθra* 'dark,' Phl., New Pers. *tār*, Minj. *tarāvi*, Afy. *tōr*, Dig. Oss. *thalīnga*, Tag. *thaling*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' Phl. *vafr*, New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gīl. *varf*, Afy. *vāvra*. Av. *marəta* 'man,' Old Pers. *martiya*, Phl. *marṭ*, New Pers. *mard*, Gab. *mārd*, Sīv. *mīrd*, Bal. *mar*, Kurd. *mīr*, *mēr*. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' New Pers. *lab*, Wāxī, Sang. *lav*, Gab. *lāv*. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sarṭ*, New Pers. *sard*, Wāxī *sur(i)*, Gab. *sarṭ*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, Bal. *(h)āps*, etc. (see § 2). Av. *pašcaṭ* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl. *pas(īn)*, New Pers. *pas*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, Kāš. *pac*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pašva*, *pāšī*, Dig. Oss. *fastaga*, Tag. *fastay*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xusrū*, *xusū*, Wāxī, Šīy. *xaš*, Kāš. *xasrū*, Afy. *x<sup>v</sup>āša*, Bal. *vassō*, *vassī*, *vassē*, Kurd. *xosī*, *xassu*, *xusrū*.

$a > ī$ .

§ 6. This change is a very rare one.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Sarq. *γīn*, *žīn*, etc. (see § 3).

$a > ū$ .

§ 7. This change is closely akin to the one described in the preceding paragraph.

a. Indian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Kāśm. *vūč*, etc. (see § 5).

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Afy. *jīnaī*, *jūnaī*, etc. (see § 3). Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, etc. (see § 4). Av. *maiḍyana* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*. Wāxī *malung*,

Šiy. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *mēḍ*, Sangl. *mīda*, Afy. *mlā*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mīdag*. New Pers. *namak* 'salt,' Šiy. Šīr. *nīmīk*.

*a* > *ě*.

§ 8. This change is of comparatively rare occurrence. It is due very frequently to the palatalizing influence of a neighbouring *y*.

a. Indian. In the Middle and New Indian dialects *e* is long only before single consonants: before a consonant-group it is to be considered short. Of the New Indian dialects Panjābī and Gujarātī show the greatest number of examples of the change of *a* to *ě*. The intermediate step of the change from *a* to *ě* is shown by the change of *a* to *ā* in Siṁhalese, or by the Marāṭhī *āi* developed from Indian *a* (the reverse of the Panjābī change of Old Indian *āi* to *a*).

Skt. *āścarya* 'wonderful,' Prāk. *acchēra*, *accharia*, *acchaara*, *accharijja*, Pāli *accharia*, *acchēra*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *acaraj*. Skt. *śayyā* 'bed,' Prāk. *sejjā*, Pāli *seyyā*, Hindī *sēj*, Mar. *śēj*. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prāk. *tēraha*, Pāli *tēdasa*, *tērasa*, *tēlasa*, Kaśm. *truvāh*, Uṛ., Bang. *tēraha*, Bihārī, Hindī *tērah*, W. Hindī *tērā*, Panj. *tērān*, Sindhī *tērahaṁ*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*, Siṁh. *teles*. Skt. *phalgu* 'empty,' Pāli *phcggū*. Skt. *sandhi* 'burglar's mine,' Prāk., Pāli *sandhi*, Ass. *sindhi*, Kaśm. *san*, Uṛ., Bang. *sindh*, E. Hindī *sēmh*, Hindī *sēndh*, Panj. *sannh*, Sindhī *sēndhi*, Mult. *sandh*. Skt. *laharī* 'wave,' Hindī *lahar*, Panj. *lahir*, Guj. *lēhēr*. Skt. *badhira* 'deaf,' Prāk. *bahira*, Hindī, Panj. *bahirā*, Guj. *bēhēr*, Siṁh. *bihira*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Pāli *kavāṭa*, Uṛ., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Bihār. *kēvār(ā)*, Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavād*.

Skt. *aṣṭi* 'eight,' Prāk., Pāli *aṭṭha*, Kaśm., Uṛ., Bihārī, Hindī *āṭh*, Panj. *aṭṭh*, Sindhī *aṭh*, Guj., Mar. *āṭh*, Siṁh. *āṭa*. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass. *māj*, Kaśm. *maṁz*, Uṛ. *majhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Hindī *majhi*, *māmjh*, *maṁh*, Panj. *mānjh*, *majjh*, Sindhī *maṁjhi*, Mar. *mājh*, Siṁh. *māda*, inscriptions *mānda*. Skt., Prāk. *jana* 'person,' Siṁh. *dena*, *dana*.

Skt. *vaṅgana* 'egg-plant,' Uṛ. *bāigu*, Bang. *bēgun*, Hindī

*bāimgan*, Panj. *bāiṇam*, Mar. *bāimgan*. Skt. *saptacatvarimśat* 'forty-seven,' Kaśm. *satatājih*, Ur. *satecālīśa*, Bang. *śatcalīś*, Bihār., Hindī *sāimṭālīs*, Panj. *saṁṭālī*, Sindhī *satētālīh*, Guj. *sūḍṭālīs*, Mar. *sattēcālīs*.

b. Iranian. The change of Indo-Iranian *a* to *ē* is very rare in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Kurdish. In the Zaza dialect of the Kurdish the Iranian *a* is often pronounced *āi*.

Samn. *dā* verbal prefix, Māz. *da*, Gil. *da*, *dū*, *dī*, Afγ. *da*, Kurd. *dē*, *da*, Oss. *d-*. Av. *√karəš* 'drag,' Phl. *kašūtanō*, Afγ. *kšal*, Bal. *kašag*, N. Bal. *khašay*, Kurd. *kēšan*, *kišan*. Old Pers. *martiya* 'man,' Kurd. *mīr*, *mēr*, etc. (see § 5). Av. *xšvašti* 'sixty,' New Pers. *šašt*, *šast*, Afγ. *špēta*, Kurd. *šašt*. Av. *taršti* 'flight,' Afγ. *tēšta*. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>anhar* 'sister,' Phl., New Pers. *x<sup>v</sup>āhar*. Wāxī *xīui*, Sarq. *yaxī*, Sangl. *ixīva*, Minj. *yaxīva*, Afγ. *xōr*, Bal. *gvaḥār*, Kurd. *xōh*, *xūha*, Zaza *vai*, Oss. *xora*. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Wāxī *hāθ*, *hat*, Šiγ. *vašt*, Sarq. *voxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yaγn. *uxs*, Afγ. *ata*, Zaza *haišt*, Oss. *asth*.

*a* > *ō*.

§ 9. This change, like the preceding one, is not of frequent occurrence either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. It is well known that the common pronunciation of an original *a* approaches *ō* in Assamese, Uriya, and Bangālī. The change of *a* to *o* is most common in Uriya and Bangālī, and in Sinhalese it often occurs near *l* developed from a cerebral or dental.

Skt. *badura* 'jujube tree,' Prāk. *vōra*, Pāli *badara*, Ur. *bara* (pron. *bōrō*), Bang. *baīr*, Hindī, Panj. *bāir*, *bēr*, Sindhī *bēru*, *bēri*, Guj., Mar. *bōr*. Skt. *sammarṣa* 'confusion,' Pāli *sammōsa*. Skt. *varkara* 'goat,' Mar. *bōkar*, etc. (see § 3). Skt. *śmaśru* 'moustache,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṁsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Ur., Bang., Bihār. *mōmch*, Hindī *mūch*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhī *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *cakṣu* 'eye,' Prāk., Pāli *cakkhu*, Bang. *cōkh*, *cāukh*. Skt. *caṇcu* 'beak,' Bang. *cōmṭha*, Hindī, Mar.

*cōmē*. Skt. *ēkādaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēāraha*, Pāli *ēkādasa*, Kaśm. *kāh*, Ur., Bang. *ēgāra*, E. Hindī *ēgyārah*, Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giāraṁ*, Sindhī *ikārahaṁ*, *yārahaṁ*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*. Skt. *pṛth(i)vī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puḍhavi*, *puha(v)i*, Pāli *paṭhavi*, *pathavi*, Old Hindī *puhumi*, Siñh. *polava*.

**b.** Iranian. Av. *maðu* 'mead,' Phl., New Pers. *mai*, Kurd. *mōt*, Oss. *mud*, *mid*. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afγ. *ōša*, Bal. *als*. Av. *panca* 'five,' Phl. *panc*, New Pers. *panj*, Wāxī *pānz*, Šiy., Sarq. *pinz*, Sangl. *pānz*, Minj. *panc*, Yidg. *pānš*, Samn. *punj*, Afγ. *pinja*, Kurd. *panj*, *pēnj*, Oss. *fonj*. Skt. *√dam* 'tame,' New Pers. *dām* 'domestic animal,' Oss. *domun* 'to tame.'

*a > au.*

§ 10. This change is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

**a.** Indian. Skt. *caṣu* 'eye,' Bang. *cōkh*, *cāukh*, etc. (see preceding §, a).

**b.** Iranian. Av. *pacata* 'cooked,' Phl. *puxtanō*, New Pers. *puxtān*, Wāxī *pōcam*, Gab. *paxtmūn*, Kāš. *patēn*, Māz. *paxta*, Afγ. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašaγ*, Kurd. *pātin*, Zaza *paujana*, Oss. *fičun*.

*Aphaeresis of a.*

§ 11. The loss of an initial *a* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is not uncommon.

**a.** Indian. Aphaeresis of *a* in the Indian dialects is especially frequent when the initial vowel is unaccented and is followed by an accented syllable.

Skt. *alanākāra* 'adornment,' Prāk. *alanīkāra*, *alanīkia*, Pāli *lanīkāra*, Elu *lakara*. Skt. *adhas* 'below,' Prāk. *heṭṭha*, Pāli *heṭṭhā*, Ur., Bang. *hēṭha*, Sindhī *hēṭhē*, Guj. *hēṭhē*, Mar. *hēṭ*. Skt. *avatrāṇa* 'rescue,' Ur. *bacāibā*, Bang. *bācān*, Hindī *bacāmnā*, Mar. *vacāvinēn*. Skt. *araṇya* 'forest,' Mahār. Prāk. *raṇṇa*, Śāur. Prāk. *araṇṇa*, Pāli *araṇṇa*, Old Hindī *raṇj*, Hindī *ran*,



Sindhī *riñ*, *riṇu*, Guj., Mar. *rān*, Sinh. *raṇa*. Skt. *amātya* 'minister,' Prāk., Pāli *amacca*, Sinh. *māti*. Skt., Pāli *atasī* 'linseed,' Kaśm. *aliś*, Ur. *tēsī*, Bang. *tiśī*, Hindī *tisī*, *alsī*. Skt. *aśōka* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *asōa*, Pāli *asōka*, Sinh. *hō*. Skt. *anurāga* 'love,' Prāk. *aṇurāa*, Sinh. *nurā*. Skt. *avaṭa* 'ditch,' Sinh. *vaḷa*.

b. Iranian. In New Persian it is a law that initial *a* before a single consonant is dropped.

Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Wāxī *yangl*, Šiy. *angašt*, Sarq. *ungaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Sīv. *gus*, Vön. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Afγ. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*, cf. also New Pers. *anguštar* 'ring,' Kurd. *gustir*. Av. *asənga* 'stone,' Old Pers. *aθqaina*, Phl., New Pers. *sang*. Av., Old Pers. *azdā* 'knowledge,' Afγ. *zda*. Av. *apąs* 'open,' Phl. *apāc*, *apāj*, Pāz. *awāž*, *awāz*, New Pers. *bāz*, Wāxī *vāz*, Sarq. *vūz*, Bal. *pac*, Kurd. *vāžī*. Av. *ahmāka* 'ours,' Old Pers. *amāxam* 'of us,' Pāz. *ēmā*, New Pers. *mā*, Oss. *max*. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' Phl. *apurnāyak*, New Pers. *burnā*, *barnā*, Afγ. *vōr*. Av., Old Pers. *asman* 'heaven,' Phl., New Pers. *āsmān*, Gab. *asbān*, Māz. *samā*, Bal. *āsmān*, N. Bal. *ažmān*.

### *Syncope of a.*

§ 12. The syncope of internal *a* is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Syncope of Indo-Iranian *a* is quite rare in the New Indian dialects, and it is rarer still in the Middle Indian period. Entire syncope of an original *a* is often preceded by the weakening of *a* to the so-called 'neutral vowel' *ə*, in case *a* is unaccented but is preceded or followed by an accented syllable.

Skt. *pūgaphala* 'arcea-nut,' Prāk. *popphala* < \**pūgphala*, Guj. *pōphal*, Mar. *pōphal*. Skt. *jāgarati* 'watches,' Prāk. *jaggai*, Pāli *jaggati*, Ur. *jāganā*, Bang. *jāgitē*, Sindhī *jāgaṇu*, Guj. *jāgaruṇ*, Mar. *jāgaṇēm*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*. Bihārī *dubara*, *dūbar*, Hindī *dublā*, Sindhī *ḍūbīrō*, *ṛabalō*, Guj.

*dubal(a)*, Mar. *dubal*. Skt. *cāmara* ‘fly-whisk,’ Prāk., Pāli *cāmara*, Bang. *camrā*, Hindī *cāunirī*, Mar. *cāmar*, *cāurī*, Anglo-Ind. *chowry*.

**b.** Iranian. Syncope of Indo-Iranian *a* is more common in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

Av. *yazatanəm* ‘of the angels,’ Phl. *yaztān*, *yazdān*, New Pers. *yazdān* ‘God.’ Av. *paθana* ‘broad,’ Phl. *pahn(āi)*, Afγ. *plān*, Bal. *patan*, Kurd. *pān*, Oss. *fathan*. Av. *axšaēna* ‘blue,’ Phl., New Pers. *xašīn*, Afγ. *šin* but fem. *šna*, Kurd. *(ha)šin*, Oss. *axsinag*. Av. *nəmah* ‘homage,’ Phl. *namāc*, Pāz. *namāž*, New Pers. *namāz*, Afγ. *nmunj*, Bal. *namāš*, *navāš*, Kurd. *nīmī(ž)*, *namūž*, *namēž*. Av. *vīsaiti* ‘twenty,’ Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vīstā*, *vīs(sā)*, Afγ. *višt*, Bal. *gīst*.

### *Apocope of a.*

§ 13. The apocope of Indo-Iranian *a* is a very frequent phenomenon in the New Indo-Iranian dialects.

**a.** Indian. The Middle Indian dialects retain the final *a* unchanged. In the New Indian the final *a* of the Old and Middle Indian dialects is dropped unless it bears the accent. If final *a* is accented it is lengthened in Hindī. In Ur. and Bang. on the other hand final *a* is often pronounced.

Skt. *mudgara* ‘club,’ Prāk., Pāli *moggara*, Ur. *mōgarā*, Bang. *mugura*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhī *muñirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*. Skt. *satya* ‘true,’ Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Ur., Bang. *sacā*, Braj *sāme*, Hindī *sac*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacō*, Guj., Mar. *sac*. Skt. *trayōdaśa* ‘thirteen,’ Prāk. *tēraha*, Pāli *tēdasa*, *tērasa*, *tēlasa*, Kāśm. *truvāh*, Ur., Bang. *tēraha*, Bihārī, Hindī *tērah*, W. Hindī *tērā*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhī *tērahām*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*, Sinh. *teles*.

**b.** Iranian. The Middle Iranian dialects, unlike the Middle Indian, do not retain original final *a*. The New Iranian dialects follow the Middle Iranian in this regard, but the Digaurian Ossetish often retains the final *a* unchanged.

Av. *darəya* ‘long,’ Old Pers. *darga*, Phl. *darg*, Afγ. *lārya*, Kurd., Oss. *darg*. Old Pers. *tigra* ‘sharp,’ Phl. *tēj*, Pāz. *tēž*,



New Pers. *tēz*, Wāxī *tiz*, Sarq. *taiz*, Kurd. *tīz'(ī)*. Av. *sarəda* 'year,' Phl., New Pers. *sāl*, Dig. Oss. *sarda*, Tag. *sarl*. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum* 'tenth,' New Pers. *dah* 'ten,' Wāxī *das*, *las*, Šiy. *δīs*, *līs*, Sarq. *das*, Sangl., Yağn. *das*, Afy. *las*, Oss. *das*.

### *Prothesis of a.*

§ 14. Prothesis of *a* is not found in the Middle period either of the Indian or of the Iranian dialects. In New Indian the colloquial Hindī prefixes *a* to words beginning with a consonant-group whose first member is *s*. In the New Persian prothesis is one of the most common phenomena, since in that language no word may begin with a consonant-group. Prothesis of *a* is also quite common in Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' colloquial Hindī *asnān*. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' colloquial Hindī *asthān*. Skt. *strī* 'woman,' colloquial Hindī *astrī* or *istrī* (see below, § 36).

This prothesis is also found in foreign loan-words, such as Eng. *school*, colloquial Hindī *askūl*, *iskūl*.

b. Iranian. Av. *brvaṭ* 'brow,' Phl. *brū*, New Pers. *abrū*, Wāxī *varao*, Šiy. *vruy*, Sarq. *varao*, Sangl. *vuriy*, Gab. *burā*, Afy. *vrūja*, Bal. *burvān*, *birvān*, Kurd. *burā*, *burī*, Dig. Oss. *arfuk*, Tag. *arfig*. Av. *stārə* 'star,' Phl. *stārak*, New Pers. *sitārah*, Afy. *stōrai*, Bal. *astār*, *istār*, Kurd. *istirk*, Oss. *stali*. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *brātar*, New Pers. *birādar*, Wāxī *vrūt*, Šiy. *vrod*, *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Afy. *vrōr*, Bal. *brat*, Kurd. *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*.

$$\bar{a} = \bar{a}.$$

§ 15. Indo-Iranian *ā* is generally retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects of all periods.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Pāli *dhārēti*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhi *vāghu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāidi* 'canal,' Wāxī *vād*, Šiy. *vēd*, Sarq. *vād*.

Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāi*, New Pers. *pāi*, Wāxī *pūδ*, Šiγ. *pād*, Sangl. *pud*, Gil. *pō*, Tāt *pā*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phāz*. Av. *gātu* 'place,' Old Pers. *gābu*, Phl. *gās*, New Pers. *gāh*, Afγ. *γālai*. Av. *ahmāka* 'ours,' Old Pers. *amāxum* 'of us,' New Pers., Kurd. *mā*, Oss. *max*.

$\bar{a} > a$ .

§ 16. The shortening of an original  $\bar{a}$  is the most frequent change of all those to which this sound is subject, whether in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects. It is well known that the doubling of an original single consonant or the retention of an original consonant-group causes a preceding long vowel to become short in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. Beside the regular shortening of original  $\bar{a}$  under the conditions just described there are numerous instances of sporadic shortening of original  $\bar{a}$ .

a. Indian. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhī *vāgh*. Skt. *mārgaśira* 'November-December,' Apab. Prāk. *maggasīru*, Pāli *māgasira*, *maggasira*. Skt. *upasthāpitva* 'having established,' Gāthā *upasthapitva*. Skt. *dēvalaya* 'temple,' Ur. *dēula*, Bang., Hindī *dēval*, Panj. *dēvalā*, Sindhī *dēvalī*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēval*, *dēūl*. Skt. *mārga* 'road,' Apab. Prāk. *maggu*, Pāli *magga*, Hindī *mag*, *māmgā*, Sindhī *māgu*, other New Ind. dialects *māg*. Skt. *mahārga* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahan̄ga*, Nāip. *mahan̄gō*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahan̄gā*, Panj. *mahin̄gā*, Sindhī *mahan̄gō*, Guj. *mōm̄ghm̄*, Mar. *mahāg*. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' Prāk. *khāi*, Pāli *khādati*, Nāip. *khaibōm̄*, Kaśm. *khyun*, Ur. *khānā*, Bang. *khāitē*, Sindhī *khānu*, Guj. *khāvum̄*, Mar. *khānēm̄*, Siinh. *kanavā*, Gyp. *cha*. Skt. *bhāginēya* 'sister's son,' Māhār. Prāk. *bhāginējja*, Pāli *bhāginēyya*, Siinh. *bāhūnā*, *bānā*. Skt. *grāma* 'village,' Prāk., Pāli *gāma*, Ur., Bang. *gām*, Hindī *gāmv*, Sindhī *gāmu*, *gā(m)u*, Guj. *gām*, Mar. *gāmv*, Siinh. *gāmi*, Gyp. *gav*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kahrkāsa* 'vulture,' Phl. *kahrkās*, *kargās*, New Pers. *kargās*. Av. *yāna* 'path,' New Pers. *yān*, Afγ. *yūn*.

Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpās*, *rōbās*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Sarq. *rapč*, Kāš. *rūvās*, Tāl. *rvōs*, N. Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robas*, Tag. *rūbas*. Skt. *ābhā* 'glory' + *tāpa* 'heat,' New Pers. *āftāb* 'sun,' Šiγ., Sarq. *aftav*, Kurd. *ātaf*, So *axtāv*, *ataf*, *adav*, Bohtan *tāv*. Av. *spāda* 'army,' Phl. *spāh*, New Pers. *sipāh*, Dig. Oss. *afsād*, Tag. *afsad*. Phl., New Pers. *ārd* 'meal,' Casp. dialects *ōr*, Nāy. *ar*, Afγ. *ōra*.

$\bar{a} > \check{i}$ .

§ 17. The change of  $\bar{a}$  to  $\check{i}$  occurs very rarely.

b. Iranian. Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Kurd. *rūvi*, etc. (see preceding §). Phl., New Pers. *darmān* 'medicine,' Šiγ., Sarq. *darmin*. Old Pers. *amānaya* 'remained,' Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *māndan*, Kurd. *mīnim* 'I remain.'

$\bar{a} > \check{u}$ .

§ 18. The change of  $\bar{a}$  to  $\check{u}$  is excessively rare in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the New Persian and its dialects as well as in numerous sporadic instances in the other Iranian dialects  $\bar{a}$  is changed to  $\bar{u}$  before *m* and *n*, as  $\bar{e}$  is changed to  $\bar{i}$  under the same circumstances (see § 89).

a. Indian. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Ur. *kapā*, Bang. *kāpas*, Hindī *kapās*, Panj. *kapah*, Sindhī *kapāh*, Guj., Mar. *kāpūs*, Sinh. *kapu*. Skt. *sāsna* 'paunch,' Prāk. *saṇhā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zānu* 'knee,' Phl. *zānūk*, New Pers. *zānū*, Wāxī *zān*, Sarq. *zūn*, Sangl. *zong*, Judaeo-Pers. *zūnī*, *zānī*, Afγ. *zangum*, Bal. *zān*, Kurd. *zāna*. Av. *rāna* 'thigh,' Phl., New Pers. *rān*, Šiγ. *rūn*, Afγ. *vrūn*. Phl. *yāmak*, *jāmak* 'robe,' New Pers. *jāmah*, Nāy. *yūmu*, Kurd. *yūma*. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl., New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, Šiγ. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safir*, Minj. *cafīr*, Yidg. *cir*, Afγ. *čālōr*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *tarsaiti* 'fears,' Old Pers. *tarsatiy*, Phl. *tarsūtanō*, New Pers. *tarsān* 'cowardly,' Bal. *trusag*, N. Bal. *tursaγ*, Kurd. *tarsunak*, Oss. *tharsun*.

$\bar{a} > \check{e}$ .

§ 19. The change of  $\bar{a}$  to  $\check{e}$  is one of excessive rarity both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. In Assamese and colloquial Bangālī the change of  $\bar{a}$  to  $\check{e}$  is not infrequent.

Skt. *mātra* 'measure,' Prāk. *metta*, Pāli *matta*. Skt. *sthāpayati* 'establishes,' Mar. *ṭhēvaṇēṃ*. Skt. *āśā* 'hope,' Mahār. Prāk. *āsā*, Ass. *ēsā*, *āsā*. Skt. *rātrī* 'night,' Prāk. *ratti*, *rāi*, Pāli *ratti*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihār. *rāt(i)*, Hindī *rāt*, Panj. *ratt*, *rāt*, Sindhī *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*, Sinh. *rā*, *rāya*. Skt., Pāli *ālōka* 'appearance,' Sinh. *eliya*, *alu*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *tēv* 'strength,' beside *tāv*. Phl. *vācār* 'market-place,' New Pers. *bāzār*, Gab. *viḡār*, Kāš. *bōzōr*, *vōjōr*. Kurd. *bāzēr*, Eng. loan-word *bazaar*.

$\bar{a} > \check{o}$ .

§ 20. The change of  $\bar{a}$  to  $\check{o}$  seems not to be found in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is not infrequent. The change is especially frequent in Māzandarānī and Tālīsh, and in Afṡān  $\bar{a}$  regularly becomes  $\check{o}$ , excepting before nasals, where the change is to  $\bar{u}$  (cf. § 18 above). It is also to be noted that in New Persian itself the pronunciation of  $\bar{a}$  often tends to approach the value of  $\check{o}$ .

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vād*, Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vād*, Māz. *vā*, Tāt *vār*, Afṡ. *vo*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *gvās*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, Tag. Oss. *vād*. New Pers. (dialectic) *māng* 'moon,' Gab. *mām*, Māz. *mūng*, Gīl. *mām*, Tāl. *mōng*, Tāt *mang*, Kurd. *māng*. Av. *āp* 'water,' Phl. *āp*, Pāz. *āw*, New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Wāxī *yapak*, *yupk*, Minj. *yaoṡa*, Yidg. *yovṡ*, Yaṡn. *ap*, Gab. *ō*, Sīv. *au*, *av*, Yazdī *vō*, Kāš. *āv*, Nāy. *āō*, Nat. *au*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō(u)*, Gīl., Tāl., Tāt *ōv*, Afṡ. *ōba*, Bal. *āp*, N. Bal. *āf*, Kurd. *āv*. Av. *naṡman* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Wāxī

*nung*, Māz. *nūm*, Gil. *nōm*, Afγ. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, Tag. *nom*.

*Aphaeresis of ā.*

§ 21. The aphaeresis of *ā* is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātarš* 'fire,' New Pers. *ātaš*, *taš*, *ātiš*, Šiγ. *yač*, Sarq. *yuč*, Gab. *taš*, Minj. *yūr*, etc. (see § 3). Av. *āyapta* 'reward,' Phl. (*ā*)*yāftan*, New Pers. *yāftan*, Dig. Oss. *yāfun*, Tag. *yāfin*.

*Apocope of ā.*

§ 22. The apocope of original *ā* is similar to the apocope of the corresponding short vowel (see § 13, a).

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *chāyā* 'shadow,' Hindī *chām(v)*, *chāmh*, *chāōm*, Panj. *chām*, *chāūm*, Sindhī *chām(v)*, Guj. *chāmy*. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindī, Panj. *nīmḍ*, Sindhī *nimr*, Guj. *nimḍḍ*, Mar. *nīd*. Skt. *dūrvā* 'grass,' Pāli *dubbā*, Uṛ., Bang. *dūba*, Hindī *dūb*.

*Anaptyxis of ā.*

§ 23. The anaptyxis of *ā* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *mat-patīfrasa* 'with recompense,' Phl. *pat-fras*, Pāz. *pādafrāh*, New Pers. *pādāfrāh*, *pādafrāh*.

$$i = i.$$

§ 24. Indo-Iranian *i* is generally retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Skt. *iva* 'as,' Prāk. *via*, Pāli *iva*. Skt. *vidyut* 'lightning,' Prāk., Pāli *viḷḷu*, Uṛ. *bijuli*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *bijali*, Sindhī *vijūm*, Guj. *vijulī*, Mar. *bijalī*, *vīj*.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *pitar* 'father,' Phl. *piṭ(ar)*, New Pers. *pīdar*, Kāš. *paṛ*, Šiγ., Sarq. *pid*. Av. *ciṭ* 'what,' Old Pers. *ciy*, Pāz., New Pers. *cih*, Afγ. *ca*, Kurd. *cī*, *ca*, *cē*, Dig. Oss. *cī*, *či*, Tag. *či*. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *īt*.



*i* > *a*.

§ 25. The change of *i* to *a* is quite common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Indian the phenomenon occurs most frequently in Panjābī, Sindhī, and above all in Gujarātī. See now Pischel, *Gramm. der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 115.

a. Indian. Skt. *haridrā* 'turmeric,' Prāk. *haladdā*, *haladdī*, Pāli *haliddā*, also Kaśm. *līdir*, *līdar*, Uṛ. *haldī*, Bang. *haluda*, Bihārī, Hindī *haldī*, Panj. *haldhī*, Guj. *halad*, Mar. *haladdā*. Skt. *iti* 'thus,' Prāk. *tī*, *ia*, Pāli *iti*. Skt. *sīthila* 'loose,' Prāk. *sadhila*, *siḍhila*, Pāli *sithila*, *saṭhila*, Ass. *ḍhil*, Nāip. *ḍhilō*, Uṛ. *ḍhīla*, Bang. *ḍhīla*, *ḍhala*, Bihārī *ḍhīlā*, E. Hindī *ḍhal*, Hindī *ḍhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhīlō*, *ḍhirō*, Sindhī *ḍharō*, *ḍhirō*, *ḍhilō*, Guj. *ḍhīlūn*, Mar. *sadhal*, *ḍhīlā*. Skt., Pāli *kathina* 'difficult,' Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *kathin*, Panj. *kathan*, Sindhī *kaṭanu*, Guj. *kaṭhaṇ*, Mar. *kaḍhīn*. Skt. *garbhīnī* 'pregnant,' Prāk. *gabbhīnī*, Pāli *gab-bhīnī*, Bang. *gābhīṇa* (vulg. *gabna*), Hindī *gābhīn*, Panj. *garabhaṇ*, Sindhī *gābhīnī*, Guj., Mar. *gābhaṇ*. Skt. *divasa* 'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *dīaha*, Śaur. *divasa*, Pāli *divasa*, Mar. *divasa*, Old Sinh. *divasa*, Sinh. *davasa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl., New Pers. *zam*, Tāl. *zumistān*, Wāxī *zam*, Šiy. *zimj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afy. *zimai*, Kurd. *zavistān*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, Tag. *zimag*. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, Wāxī *šiš*, Sarq. *spal*, Afy. *spaža*, Kurd. *sipi*, Oss. *sisth*. Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Phl. *(h)uzvān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, Gab. *izvūn*, Wāxī *zik*, Šiy. *zav*, Sarq. *ziv*, Afy. *žiba*, Bal. *zimān*, Kurd. *azmān*, *zumān*, Oss. *avzag*.

*i* > *ā*.

§ 26. The change of *i* to *ā* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Prāk., Pāli *ucchā*, Uṛ. *ākhu*, *ākha*, *īkha*, Bang. *āku*, Hindī *īkh*, *ūkh*, Guj., Mar. *ūs*, Sinh. *imgu*, *uk*.



*i* > *u*.

§ 27. The change of *i* to *u* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. The change of *i* to *u* is particularly frequent in unaccented syllables in Uriya and Bangālī.

Skt. *rājila* 'lizard,' Pāli *rājula*. Skt. *iṣu* 'arrow,' Jāina Prāk., Pāli *usu*. Skt., Pāli *bindu* 'drop,' Uṛ., Bang. *bindī*, Hindī, Panj. *bānd*, *bind*, Sindhī *bānd*, *būmrō*, *bīmrī*, Guj. *bānd*, *vindu*, Mar. *bindī*, *bānd*, Sinh. *poda*. Skt. *gāirika* 'red chalk,' Uṛ. *gēru*, Hindī *gērū*, Guj. *gēru*, Mar. *gērū*. Skt. *tintidī* 'tamarind,' Ass. *tēmteli*, Nāip. *titri*, Uṛ. *tēmtulī*, *tēmtulī*, Bang. *tē(n)tul*. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Sinh. *iṅgu*, *uk*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. The change of *i* to *u* is especially common in the Digaurish dialect of the Ossetish.

New Pers. *mužah* 'eyelash,' beside *mižah*, Gab. *mujang*, Kāš. *maja*, *muja*, *maža*, Bal. *micāc*, N. Bal. *mišāš*, Kurd. *mižānk*, *mižī*. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, etc. (see § 25). Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Tāl. *zumistān*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, etc. (see § 25). Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Phl. (*h*)*uzvān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, etc. (see § 25).

*i* > *ī*.

§ 28. The lengthening of *i* to *ī* is due in the majority of cases to compensatory lengthening, as in the case of *ā* developed from *a* (see § 5). The phenomenon occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sinha* 'lion,' Prāk. *sīha*, Gāthā *sīnha*, Kāśm. *suh*, Bihārī, E. Hindī *sīngh*, *sīmh*, *siogh*, Panj. *siṅgh*, other New Indian dialects *sīmh*. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jīhā*, *jibbhā*, Pāli *jihvā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kāśm. *zēo*, Sindhī *jībh*, Sinh. *diva*, Maladive *dū*, other New Indian dialects *jībh*. Skt. *āupaśivi*, nom. prop., Pāli *upāsīva*. Skt. *vimśati* 'twenty,' Prāk. *vīsaī*, Pāli *vīsaṃ*, *vīsati*, Kāśm. *vuh*, Bang. *bīśa*, Hindī *bīs*, Panj. *bīh*, Sindhī *vīh*, Guj., Mar. *vīs*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,'

Prāk. *bahiṇī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Ur. *bhāuṇī*, *bhaūṇī*, Bang. *bhaīm*, Hindī *bahin*, Panj. *bhāiṇ*, *bāimh*, Sindhī *bhēṇu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīṇ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *huciθra* 'beautiful,' Phl. *hucīhr*, New Pers. *huzīr*, *hujīr*, *xujīr*. Av. *vicinōit* 'gathered,' Phl. *cītanō*, New Pers. *cīdan*, Bal. *cinag*, N. Bal. *chinaγ*, Kurd. *cinin*. Skt. *kapiṇjāla* 'partridge,' Bal. *kapīnjar*, N. Bal. *khavinjar*. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *it*. Old Pers. *cišciy* 'something,' New Pers. *cīz*, Kurd. *tišt*.

*i* > *ū*.

§ 29. The change of *i* to *ū* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Ur. *ākhu*, *īkha*, *ūkha*, Hindī *īkh*, *ūk*, Guj., Mar. *ūs*, etc. (see § 26).

*i* > *ē*.

§ 30. The change of *i* to *e*, *ē* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, but it is exceedingly rare in the Iranian dialects, where a few cases of the compensatory lengthening of *i* to *ē* are found. In the Indian dialects the change appears most frequently before double consonants in Middle Indian (consequently the *e* in such cases is short). Of the New Indian dialects the Gujarātī presents the greatest number of examples of this change, which is, on the whole, more common in the West of India than in the East.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk. *ṇeddā*, *ṇiddā*. Skt. *kirāṭa* 'hypocrite,' Pāli *kēraṭika*, *kērāṭiya*. Skt. *dvibhāga* 'two-fold,' Pāli *dvēbhāga*. Skt. *tintiḍī* 'tamarind,' Ass. *tēmtēli*, Ur. *tēmtulī*, *tēmtulī*, Bang. *tē(m)tul*, etc. (see § 27). Skt. *sindūra* 'vermilion,' Prāk. *sendūra*, Pāli *sindūra*, Ass. *sendur*, *sindur*, Bang. *sindur*, Bihārī *sēnur*, Hindī *sēmdūr*, Sindhī *sindhuru*, Guj. *sindūr*, Mar. *sēmdūr*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *ciy* 'what,' Kurd. *cē*, *cī*, *ca*, etc. (see § 24). New Pers. *gišniz* 'coriander,' Bal. *gēnēc*.

*Aphaeresis of i.*

§ 31. Aphaeresis of original *i* is very rare in the Indian dialects. The Tagaurish dialect of the Ossetish presents several instances of the aphaeresis of *i* which has become initial after the loss of original initial consonants.

a. Indian. Skt. *idānīm* 'now,' Prāk., Pāli *dāni*(m).

[b. Iranian. Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vīstā*, *vīs(sā)*, Wāxī *vīst*, Sarq. *vīst*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaj*. Av. *hištaiti* 'stands,' Dig. Oss. *isthun*, Tag. *sthin*.]

*Syncope of i.*

§ 32. The syncope of *i* is excessively rare. Possibly the loss of a final *i* in a word which is made the first member of a compound may be considered here.

b. Iranian. Av. *zairi-gaona* 'having a golden colour,' New Pers. *zaryūn*, Afγ. *zaryūn*.

*Apocope of i.*

§ 33. Apocope of *i* is common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dṛṣṭi* 'sight,' Prāk., Pāli *diṭṭhi*, Hindī *dīṭhi*, *dīṭh*, *dīṭh*, Panj. *ḍiṭṭh*, Sindhī *ḍiṭi*, Mar. *dīṭh*. Skt. *vyakti* 'person,' Hindī *bikat*.

b. Iranian. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aḍairi* 'beneath,' Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Afγ. *lar*, Kurd. *žīr*, Tag. Oss. *dala*.

*Prothesis of i.*

§ 34. Prothetic *i* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is quite common, especially before initial consonant-groups whose first component is a sibilant.

a. Indian. Skt. *strī* 'woman,' Prāk., Pāli *itthī*, *thī*, Gāthā *istrī*, colloquial Hindī *istrī*, *astrī*, Sindhī *istrī*, Eḷu *itirī*, Sinh. *istrī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēt*, New Pers. *sipēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *söbō*, Kāš. *asbēd*, Kuhr. *asbē*, Sarq. *spaid*, Yidg. *spī*, Afγ. *spīn*, *spēra*, Kurd. *ispī*, *spī*. Skt. *ṣṛgāla* 'jackal,' Phl., New Pers. *šayāl*, Šiy., Sarq. *iškāl*, Afγ. *caγāl*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Afγ. *γvaγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*, but Dig. *iγosun* 'to hear,' Tag. *qūsin*. Skt. *aṅga* 'limb,' Dig. Oss. *ion*, Tag. *on*. [Hübischmann considers the *i* in these cases to be original in the Oss., but he thinks that the Tag. dialect has lost the *i*, rather than that the Dig. shows a prothetic *i*.]

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$$\bar{i} = \bar{i}.$$

§ 35. Indo-Iranian  $\bar{i}$  is generally preserved without change both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Assamese no character for  $\bar{i}$  exists, *i* being written instead. The Old Hindī often writes *iy* for  $\bar{i}$  (Skt. *jīva* 'life,' Old Hindī *jiyava*). The New Persian, as is well known, has confused in many words the *majhūl* ('unknown [to the Arabs]' = Persian sounds) vowels  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  with the *maʾrūf* ('known [to the Arabs]' = Arabic sounds) vowels  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{u}$ . The Judæo-Persian and the Balūcī, like the Indian pronunciation of New Persian, maintain clearly the original distinction between the *majhūl* and the *maʾrūf* vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīvita* 'life,' Prāk. *jīvia*, Pāli *jīvita*. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prāk. *dīha(rā)*, *diggha*, Pāli *dīgha*, Sindhī *ḍrighō*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Phl., New Pers. *šīr*, Šīr., Šiy. *šīrin*, Minj. *xšīr*, Kurd. *šīr*, Oss. *axšīr*. Av. *vīra* 'understanding,' Phl. *vīr(āk)*, New Pers. *vīr*, Gab. *vīr*, Bal. *gīr*, Kurd. *bīr*.

$$\bar{i} > a.$$

§ 36. The change of  $\bar{i}$  to *a* is an excessively rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhīṣma* 'terrible,' Pāli *bhasma*, *bhisma*. Skt. *parīkṣā* 'test,' Bang. *parakha*, *parakhāi*, Hindī *parakhānā*, *parakhāiyā*, Panj. *parakhavum*, *parakhānār*, Sindhī *pāraakhia*, *parkhaṇu*, Mar. *parakhaṇēm*, *pāraakhī*.

$\bar{i} > i$ .

§ 37. The shortening of  $\bar{i}$  is naturally the most common change to which  $\bar{i}$  is subject. It occurs, however, with comparative infrequency in the Iranian dialects. For the principal conditions under which the change occurs see above under § 25.

a. Indian. Skt. *tikṣṇa* 'sharp,' Prāk. *tiṇha*, *tikkha*, Pāli *tiṇha*, *tikkha*, *tikhiṇa*, New Indian dialects *tikh*, except Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *tikh*. Skt. *īśvara* 'lord,' Prāk. *īsara*, Pāli *issara*, Hindī, Panj. *īsar*. Skt. *alika* 'false,' Prāk. *alia*, Pāli *alika*. Skt. *dvītiya* 'second,' Prāk. *duia*, U<sub>r</sub>. *duśra*, Old Hindī *dūjā*, Hindī *dūsarā*, Panj. *dū(j)ā*, Sindhī *bījō*, *bīō*, Guj. *bījō*, Mar. *duśarā*. Skt. *ga(m)bhīra* 'deep,' Prāk. *gahira*, Pāli *ga(m)bhīra*, U<sub>r</sub>. *gahira*, Hindī *gahirā*, *gaharā*, Sindhī *gāhirā*. Skt. *kīla* 'pin,' Pāli *k(h)īla*, U<sub>r</sub>. *kilā*, Hindī *killā*, Panj. *kill*, Sindhī *kilī*, Mar. *killā*. Skt. *kīṭa* 'worm,' U<sub>r</sub>., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kīḍā*, Sindhī *kīḷō*, Guj. *kīlō*, Mar. *kīḍā*, *kīḷ*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *sīsa*, Pāli *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sīsī*, Guj. *śīs*, Mar. *śī(m)s*, Sinh. *iha*, *isa*, *his*, *sis*. Skt. *kīrti* 'fame,' Prāk., Pāli *kitti* Sinh. *kit*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *jīvāhy* 'thou shalt live,' Phl. *zīvandak* 'living,' New Pers. *zīndak*. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Šir., Šiy. *šīrin*, Oss. *axšir*, etc. (see § 35). Skt. *bīja* 'seed,' Bal. *bij*. New Pers. *kōhī* 'mountainous,' Kurd. *kōvi*.

$\bar{i} > u$ .

§ 38. The change of  $\bar{i}$  to *u* is excessively rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīra* 'cumin-seed,' Sinh. *duru*. Skt. *pravāsin* 'sojourner,' Prāk. *pavāsū*.

b. Iranian. Av. *mīžda* 'reward,' Phl. *muzd*, Pāz. *mozd*, New Pers. *muzd*, *mužd*, Kurd., Oss. *mīzd*.

$\bar{i} > \bar{a}$ .

§ 39. The change of  $\bar{i}$  to  $\bar{a}$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tiraścīna* 'going sideways,' Pāli *tiracchāna* 'animal.'

$\bar{i} > \check{e}$ .

§ 40. The change from  $\bar{i}$  to  $\check{e}$  is not very common in the Middle Indian dialects, while in the New Indian and in the Iranian dialects it is still more rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kīḍṣa* 'what kind?' Prāk. *kērisa*, Apab. Prāk. *kēlu*, Sindhī *kēharō*, *kēru*. Skt. *nīḍa* 'nest,' Prāk. *neḍḍa*, *nīḍa*, Pāli *niḍḍha*, *nīḷa*. Skt. *grhītva* 'having taken,' Pāli *gahetvā*. Skt. *krīḍa* 'sport,' Pāli *khēla*, Hindī *khelnā*, Gyp. ✓*khel* 'to dance.' Skt. *bhīma* 'fearful,' Sinh. *bem*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *pīr* 'old,' New Pers. *pīr*, Judaeo-Pers. *pēr*, Bal. *pīrūk*, N. Bal. *phīrūk*.

$\bar{i} > \check{o}$ .

§ 41. The change of  $\bar{i}$  to  $\check{o}$  is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tīrtha* 'landing-place,' Prāk. *tittha*, *tūha*, Pāli *tittha*, Sindhī *tīrthu*, Sinh. *toṭa*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *zīnjīr* 'chain,' Wāxī *zanzīr*, Šīy. *zinzīr*, Sarq. *zanzair*, Bal. *zamzīl*, Kurd. *zanjōr*, *zanjīr*.

#### Apocope of $\bar{i}$ .

§ 42. The apocope of final  $\bar{i}$  occurs in several New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *garbhīṇī* 'pregnant,' Hindī *gābhīn*, Panj. *garabhaṇ*, Guj., Mar. *gābhaṇ*, etc. (see § 25).

$u = u$ .

§ 43. Indo-Iranian *u* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.



a. Indian. Skt. *chupati* 'touches,' Prāk. *chupaī*, Pāli *chupati*, U<sub>r</sub>., Bang. *chunī*, Old Hindī *chuh*, Hindī *chū*, Panj. *chūh*, Sindhī *chuk*, Guj. *chū*, *chō*. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk. *purisa*, *paūrisa*, Pāli *purisa*, Bang. *puruṣ*, Sindhī *purusu*, Gyp. *poša*, cf. also Sinh. *pirimiyā*, Maladive *frimīha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl., New Pers. *xušk*, Kāš. *ušk*, Wāxī *vask*, Afy. *vuc*, Bal. *hušay*, Oss. *xus(k)*. Av. *duyḍar* 'daughter,' Phl. *duxt*, New Pers. *duxt(ar)*, Wāxī *dagd*, Sangl. *day*, Minj. *loyda*, Yidg. *luydoh*, Afy. *lūr*, Kurd. *duxt*, *ditt*. Skt. *mudrā* 'seal,' Phl. *mutrāk*, *mudar*, *muhr*, New Pers., Kurd. *muhr*, Oss. *mixur*.

$u > a$ .

§ 44. The change of *u* to *a* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *punar* 'again,' Prāk. *puṇu*, *pana* (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions), Pāli *pana*. Skt. *sphurati* 'flashes,' Pāli *pharati*. Skt. *suruṅga* 'mine,' Pāli *suruṅga*, U<sub>r</sub>. *suḷaṅga*, Bihārī, Hindī *suramṅ*, Sindhī *sirimṅh*, Mar. *suramṅ*. Skt. *karbura* 'variegated,' Hindī *kabarā*, *kābar*, Panj. *kabrā*, Sindhī *kubīrō*, Guj. *kābar*, Mar. *kabarā*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dūbar*, Hindī *dublā*, Panj. *dubbal*, Sindhī *ḍubīrō*, *ḍabalō*, Guj. *dubal(ā)*, Mar. *dubal*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yuvan* 'youth,' Phl. *yuvān*, New Pers. *javān*, *vān*, Māz. *javān*, Afy., Bal. *javān*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Afy. *max*. Av. *uštra* 'camel,' Phl. *uštr*, New Pers. *uštūr*, Wāxī *ūštūr*, Šiy. *štur*, Bal. *huštar*, Kurd. *haštir*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Phl., New Pers. *dum(b)*, Sarq. *ḍüm(bā)*, Afy. *lam*, Bal. *ḍim*, Kurd. *dāw*, *dunk*, Dig. Oss. *dumag*, Tag. *dimag*.

$u > i$ .

§ 45. The change of *u* to *i* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk. *purisa*, *paūrisa*, Pāli

*purisa*, cf. also Sinh. *pirimiyā*, Maladive *frimīha*, etc. (see § 43). Skt. *kuṭumba* 'family,' Pāli *kuṭimba*. Skt. *undura*, *undara* 'rat,' Pāli *undura*, E. New Ind. dialects *indūr*, Mar. *undīr*. Skt. *vālukā* 'sand,' Pāli *vālukā*, Ass., Ur., Bang. *bāli*, Hindi *bālū*, Sindhi *vārī*, Guj. *bālu*, Mar. *vāhūyā*. Skt. *stuti* 'praise,' Prāk. *thui*, Pāli *thuti*, Sinh. *tiyu*, *tivu*, *tuti*.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθra*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, New Pers. *pūr*, *pusar*, *pisar*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Wāxī *pōtr*, Šiy. *puč*, Sarq. *pōč*, Kurd. *pisir*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *fīrth*. Av. *tusən* 'they evacuated,' Phl. *tukik* 'empty,' New Pers. *tihī*, Gab. *tohī*, Judaeo-Pers. *tuha*, Bal. *tusag*, N. Bal. *thusay*. Av. *buna* 'foundation,' Phl., New Pers. *bun*, Wāxī *bōn*, Šiy. *bon*, Sarq. *bun*, Bal. *bunā*, Kurd. *bin*, *bun*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Skt. *stuti* 'praise,' Dig. Oss. *stud*, Tag. *stid*.

*u > ā.*

§ 46. The change of *u* to *ā* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhānumatī* 'jugglery,' Mar. *bhānāmatī*.

*u > ī.*

§ 47. The change of *u* to *ī* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra-*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Šīr. *sīrah*, Sīv. *sīr*, Yazdī *surkuh*, Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Wāxī *sōkr*, Šiy. *sīrah*, Afγ. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sīrx*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Bal. *dīm*, etc. (see § 44).

*u > ū.*

§ 48. The lengthening of *u* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is due in the majority of cases to compensation (cf. also §§ 5, 28).

a. Indian. Skt. *utsava* 'feast,' Prāk. *ūsava*, Pāli *ussava*. Skt. *kula* 'family,' Prāk., Pāli *kula*, Ur. *kūla*, Sindhi *kuru*, *kulu*, Guj. *kul*, Mar. *kūl*, *kul*. Skt. *muṣala* 'pestle,' Prāk. *mūsala*, Pāli *musala*, Bang. *mūsal*, Hindi *mūsal*. Skt. *pura* 'town,' Prāk., Pāli *pura*, Bihār. *pūr*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *sa-*

*mudda*, Pāli *samudda*, *muhudda*, Sinh. *muhuda*, *mūda*. Skt. *muṣṭi* 'fist,' Prāk., Pāli *muṭṭhi*, Bang. *muṭhā*, *muṭhi*, Hindi *mūṭh*, *muṭhā*, Sindhi *muṭhi*, *mūṭh*, Guj. *muṭṭhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *parətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhr*, *puhl*, New Pers. *puhl*, *pūl*, Gil. *puṛd*, Kurd. *par*, *pīr(d)*, *puṛd*. Av. *puθra* 'son,' New Pers. *pūr*, *pusar*, *pisar*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, etc. (see § 45). Av. *suxra* 'red,' Afy. *sūr*, etc. (see preceding §). Kurd. *turb* 'turnip,' Mukri *tūr*.

$u > \check{e}$ .

§ 49. The change of *u* to  $\check{e}$  is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *p(h)upphusa* 'lung,' Prāk. *phupphusa*, Pāli *phapphāsa*, Uṛ. *phaṁsaphaṁsa*, *phāṁphāṁi*, Bang. *phēṁparā*, *phōṁpasā*, Hindi *phēpharā*, *phēpharā*, Sindhi *phiphirū*, Mar. *phōpīs*.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šud*, Wāxī *cauam*, Šiy. *zafcam*, Sarq. *zavsam*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šut(a)*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuṭa*, Kurd. *ēan*, Zaza *šē*, Oss. *ēaun*.

$u > \check{o}$ .

§ 50. The change of *u* to  $\check{o}$  is very rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects the confusion between the *majhūl* and the *ma'rūf* vowels must be borne in mind. Somewhat akin to the change of *u* to  $\check{o}$  is the change of *u* to  $\check{ö}$  in Wāxī and to  $\check{ü}$  in Sariqolī, while the other New Persian dialects usually retain original *u* unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. *muktā* 'pearl,' Prāk. *mottā*, Pāli *muttā*, Uṛ. *mōti*, Bang. *mōti*, *matī*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi, Guj., Mar. *mōti*. Skt. *ulākhala* 'mortar,' Prāk. *ōhala*, *okkhala*, *u(l)ūhala*, Uṛ. *ukhalī*, Mar. *ukhal*. Skt. *ulkā* 'torch,' Prāk. *ukkā*, Pāli *okkā*. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Ass. *kuṭh*, Nāip. *kōr*, Uṛ. *kōḍha*, Bang. *kōṭh*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Guj. *kōḍh* (cf. Skt. *kuṣṭhin* 'leper,' Hindi *kōṛī*), Mar. *kōḍ*. Skt., Pāli *kuddāla* 'hoe,' Uṛ. *kōṛā*, Bang. *kōḍāl*, Sindhi *kōṛarī*, Guj. *kōḍārō*, Sinh. *udalu*, *udālla*. Skt. *pustaka*

‘book,’ Prāk. *potthaa*, Pāli *potthaka*, New Ind. dialects *pōthā*, *pōthī*, Sinh. *pota*.

b. Iranian. Av. *uši* ‘understanding,’ Phl. (h)*ōš*, New Pers. *hōš*, *hūš*. Av. *uśah* ‘dawn,’ Phl., New Pers. *hōš*. Av. *puθra* ‘son,’ Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Wāxī *pōtr*, Sarq. *pōč*, etc. (see § 45). Av. *suxra* ‘red,’ Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Wāxī *sōkr*, etc. (see § 47). Skt. *yuga* ‘yoke,’ New Pers. *juy*, Kuhr. *yū*, Šiγ. *yuy*, Sarq. *yūγ*, Kurd. *jūk*.

### *Aphaeresis of u.*

§ 51. The loss of initial *u* is not uncommon in the New Indian dialects, although it occurs but rarely in the Middle Indian. In the Iranian dialects aphaeresis of *u* seems to have been preceded in the Middle Iranian by a change of *u* to *a* (Old Pers. *upariy* ‘above,’ Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (a)*bar*. Skt. *upasthāna* ‘assistance,’ Phl. *apastān*).

a. Indian. Skt. *udaka*, *daka* ‘water,’ Jāina Prāk. *daga*, Pāli *daka*, *ōka*, Sinh. *daga*, *daya*, *diya*. Skt. *upaviśati* ‘sits down,’ Pāli *upavisati*, Ass. *bahē*, Nāip. *basē*, Kāsm. *✓bih*, Ur., Bang. *basē*, E. Hindī, Hindī *baīsē*, Sindhī *bihē*, Mar. *baisē*, *vašē*. Skt., Pāli *udumbara* ‘fig-tree,’ Ur. *ḍumurī*, Bang. *ḍumur*. Skt. *upadhyāya* ‘teacher,’ Prāk. *uajjhāa*, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādhā*, Hindī *ōjhā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *upairi* ‘above,’ Old Pers. *upariy*, Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (a)*bar*, Wāxī, Sarq. *var*, Afγ. *prē*, Bal. *par*, *gvar*, N. Bal. *phar*, Kurd. *bar*, Dig. Oss. *vol*, Tag. *ol*. Av. *uštra* ‘camel,’ Phl. *uštr*, New Pers. *ustur*, *šutur*, Wāxī *uštūr*, Šiγ. *štur*, Bal. *huštar*, *uštir*.

### *Syncope of u.*

§ 52. Syncope of *u* is comparatively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* ‘daughter,’ Prāk. *dhā(d)ā*, *dhī(d)ā*, Pāli *dhītā*, Ur. *jhia*, Bang. *jhī*, Hindī, Panj. *dhī(yā)*, Sindhī *dhiu*, *dhiy*, Guj. *dhī(yā)*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daiśhu-paiti* ‘lord of the land,’ New Pers.

*dihxān* 'village-chief' (cf. Armenian loan-word *dehpet* from Av. *daiśhu-paiti*).

*Apocope of u.*

§ 53. The loss of final *u* occurs very frequently in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *taru* 'tree,' Bihārī *tar(u)*. Skt. *bāhu* 'arm,' Apab. *bāhā*, Pāli *bāhu*, Uṛ., Bang. *bāha*, Hindī, Panj. *bāmh*, Sindhī *bāmh*, Guj. *bāmhi*, Mar. *bāmhi*, *bāhī*, *bāhu*.

*Prothesis of u.*

§ 54. The prothesis of *u* is very frequent in the Iranian dialects before initial consonant-groups. The phenomenon is not found in the Indian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *stūna* 'column,' Phl. *stūn*, New Pers. *sutūn*, *ustūn*, Afy. *stan*, Kurd. (*i*)*stūn*. Skt. *sthūra* 'firm,' New Pers. *siturg*, *suturg*, Yidg. *ustūr*, Afy. *star*, Bal. *istūr*, Kurd. *ustūr*, Dig. Oss. *sthur*, Tag. *sthīr*. Av. *starə* 'star,' Sangl. *usturak*, etc. (see § 14). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, etc. (see § 25).

*Epenthesis of u.*

§ 55. The epenthesis of *u* is very rare. The Kaśmīrī shows many cases of an inserted *u* after *i* in *u*-stems.

a. Indian. Skt. *nīla* 'blue,' Kaśm. *nyūla*. Skt. *dṛṣṭha* 'seen,' Kaśm. *dyuṭhu*.

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$$\bar{u} = \bar{u}.$$

§ 56. Indo-Iranian  $\bar{u}$  is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *bhūmi* 'earth,' Pāli *bhūmi*, *bhummi*, Uṛ. *bhūma*, Bang. *bhām*, Hindī, Panj. *bhām*, *bhāmh*, *bhām*, Sindhī *bhū(in)*, Guj. *bhū(y)*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Sinh. *bima*.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāmī* 'earth,' Phl., New Pers. *bām*. Av., Old Pers. *dūra* 'far,' Phl., New Pers. *dūr*, Gab. *dīr*, Māz. *dīr*, Gil. *dūr*, Wāxī *dūr*, Šīy., Sarq. *dar*, Yidg. *lūro*, Afy. *līri*, Kurd. *dūr*.



$\bar{u} > a$ .

§ 57. The change of  $\bar{u}$  to  $a$  is not frequent either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Afyān, when  $\bar{u}$  often becomes  $a$  before nasals or  $r$ .

a. Indian. Skt. *dukūla* 'silken robe,' Prāk. *dualla*, *duūla*, Jāina Prāk. *dugulla*, Pāli *dukūla*. Skt. *bhrāmukha* 'eyebrow,' Jāina Prāk. *bhamuka*, Pāli *bhamuka* (cf. also Pāli *bhamu* 'eyebrow'), Gyp. *phov*. [See now Pischel, *Gr. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, §§ 206, 261.]

b. Iranian. Skt. *sthūra* 'large,' New Pers. *siturg*, *suturg*, Yidg. *ustūr*, Afy. *star*, Bal. *istūr*, Kurd. *ustūr*, Dig. Oss. *sthur*, Tag. *sthīr*. Skt. *nūnam* 'now,' Av. *nūrem*, Phl., New Pers. *nūn*, Šiy. *nur*, Sarq. *nūr*, Afy. *nan*, Bal. *nūn*.

$\bar{u} > i$ .

§ 58. The change of  $\bar{u}$  to  $i$  is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Uṛ. *mūla*, Guj., Mar. *mōl*, Sinh. *mīla*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *sujja*, *sūria*, Pāli *suriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhī *sūrju*, *sūriju*, Guj. *suraj*, *sūr*, Sinh. (*h*)*iru*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *mūṣ* 'mouse,' New Pers. *mūš*, Gab. *mušk*, Samn. *mūš*, Afy. *mayā(k)*, Bal. *mušk*, N. Bal. *mūšk*, Kurd. *miš(i)k*, Dig. Oss. *mista*, Tag. *mist*.

$\bar{u} > u$ .

§ 59. The shortening of  $\bar{u}$  to  $u$  is the most frequent change to which  $u$  is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. It occurs especially before double consonants or consonant-groups (cf. §§ 16, 37). In Assamese  $\bar{u}$  is always written  $u$ .

a. Indian. Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Prāk. *mulla*, *molla*, Kaśm. *mol* (but *mūlāi* 'radically'), Uṛ. *mūla*, Bang., Hindī *mōl*, Panj. *mull*, Sindhī *mulhu*, Mar. *mōl*. Skt. *tūrya* 'musical instrument,' Prāk. *tūra*, Jāina Prāk. *tuḍiya*, Pāli *turiya*, Uṛ. *turī*, Bang. *turum*, Hindī *tūrī*, *tūrahī*, Panj. *turam*, Sindhī, Guj. *turī*. Skt.



*śālūka* 'root of the water-lily,' Pāli *sālūka*. Skt. *cūrṇa* 'dust,' Prāk., Pāli *cūrṇa*, Kāśm. *cūn*, Ur. *curā*, Bang. *cūr*, Hindī *cūrā*, Panj. *cūr*, Sindhī *cūrō*, Guj. *curō*, Mar. *cūr*, also Ur., Bang. *cunā*, Hindī *cūnā*, Panj. *cūnā*, *cūnī*, Sindhī *cunu*, Guj. *cunō*, Mar. *cunā*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuwā*, Kāśm. *khukh*, Ur., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *kū(n)ām*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Prāk., Pāli *dhūma*, Ass. *dhōmā*, Nāip. *dhuām*, Kāśm. *duh*, Ur. *dhūmā*, Bang. *dhuyām*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *dhū(n)ām*, Sindhī *dhūmhām*, Guj., Mar. *dhūm*, Siñh. *dum*, Gyp. *thuv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būza* 'goat,' Phl. *būj*, New Pers. *buz*, *buḡ*, Wāxī *buc*, *būc*, Šīy., Sarq. *vaz*, Sangl. *vuz*, Minj. *vuza*. Av. *gūḡa* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gāh*, Kāš. *gūs*, Wāxī *gū*, *gī*, Šīy. *ḡaθ*, Yaḡn. *ḡūt(ah)*, Afy. *ḡul*, N. Bal. *gīθ*, Kurd. *gū*. Skt. *nūnam* 'now,' Av. *nūrəm*, Šīy. *nūr*, Sarq. *nūr*, etc. (see § 57). Av. *kū* 'where,' Pāz. *ku*, New Pers. *kujā*, Minj. *ko*, Afy. *kām*, Bal. *kū*, N. Bal. *khū*, Kurd. *ku*, Oss. *khu(d)*.

[Final *ū* is often shortened to *u* in the New Indian dialects. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' Prāk. *vahū*, Pāli *vadhū*, Ur. *bahu*, Bang. *baū*, Hindī *bahū*, Panj. *bōhū*, Sindhī *vahū*, Guj. *vahu*, Mar. *vahū* (yet in most of these dialects the word is actually pronounced *boh(ū)*).]

$\bar{u} > \bar{a}$ .

§ 60. The change of *ū* to *ā* is an excessively rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *masūraka* 'pillow,' Pāli *masāraka*.

$\bar{u} > \bar{i}$ .

§ 61. The change of *ū* to *ī* is very rare in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is not uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *bahurūpa* 'juggler,' Mar. *bhōrapī*, *b(h)ōrīp*.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *dūra* 'far,' Gab. *dūr*, Māz. *dūr*, Wāxī *ḡir*, Afy. *līrī*, *liri*, etc. (see § 56). Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Phl. *dūt*, New Pers. *dūd*, Wāxī *ḡīt*, Šīy. *ḡud*, Sarq. *ḡūt*, Afy. *lā*, Bal. *dūt*, *dīt*, N. Bal. *dīθ*, Kurd. *dū*. New Pers. *būdand* 'they were,' Tāt *birūd*. Kurd. *barīk* 'pocket' beside *barūk*.

$\bar{u} > \check{e}$ .

§ 62. The change of  $\bar{u}$  to  $\check{e}$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nūpura* 'anklet,' Prāk. *ṇēura*, *nēura*, *niura*, Pāli *nūpura*, Uṛ. *nēpura*, *nūpura*, Sindhī *nūrō*, Guj., Mar. *nēpūr*. Skt. *pūrva* 'former,' Prāk. *puvva*, Śāur. Prāk. *purava*, New Ind. dialects *pūrba*, except Hindī *pūrab*, Sindhī *pūrbu*, Sinh. *pera*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Kāš., Zaf. *sōzō*, Wāxī *sič*, Sarq. *sič*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sīcīn*, N. Bal. *sīšin*, *šīšan*, *šīšin*, *šēšin*, Kurd. *sūzīn*.

$\bar{u} > \check{o}$ .

§ 63. This change, like the one preceding, is a very rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrja* 'strength,' Pāli *ōja*. Skt. *tāmbūla* 'betel,' Prāk. *tambōla*, Pāli *tambūla*, Uṛ. *tāmbōla*, Guj. *tāmbūl*, Mar. *tāmbūl*, cf. also Bang. *tāmbulī* 'betel-seller,' Hindī *tāmbōlī*, Panj. *tāmbōlī*, Guj. *tāmbōlī*, Mar. *tāmbōlī*.

$\bar{u} > yah$ .

§ 64. The interchange of  $\bar{u}$  and *yah* occurs only finally. It is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *zālū* 'leech,' Šiγ., Sarq. *zālyah*, Afγ. *žavara*, Bal. *zarāγ*, Kurd. *zalū(g)*, *zulūl*, *zūrī*.

$\bar{u} > va$ .

§ 65. The change of  $\bar{u}$  to *va* seems to occur only initially. It is extremely uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūnavimśati* 'nineteen,' Prāk. *ūnavisaī*, Kāsm. *kunavuh*, Uṛ. *unāśa*, Bang. *ūnīś*, Bihārī *ōnaīs*, *vanaīs*, Hindī *unīs*, Panj. *unnīh*.

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$r = \gamma$ .

§ 66. Indo-Iranian  $r$ , which is represented by  $r$  in Old Indian, by *ərə* in Avestan, and by *ar* in Old Persian, has been changed in

the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects to *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ō*, or into *r* (sometimes *l*) preceded or followed by *a*, *i*, *u*. The quality of the vowel in the various developments here considered is generally determined by the character of the consonants which stand near the original *r*. Thus the usual change of *r* is to *a(r)*, *ra*, but labials often colour the vowel to *u(r)*, and sibilants colour it to *i(r)*.

In the Indian Gāthā dialect *r* is regularly retained unchanged, and in Apabhraṃśa Prākṛit *r* often remains.

a. Indian. Skt. *sukṛta* 'well done,' Apab. Prāk. *sukṛdu*, *suki(d)u*. Skt. *tṛṇa* 'grass,' Apab. Prāk. *tṛṇu*, *taṇu*, *tiṇu*, Bang. *tinakā*, *tilakā*, Hindī *tinakā*, Panj. *tiṇ*, Sindhī *tīl*, Mar. *tan*, Sinh. *taṇa*.

*r* > *ar*.

§ 67. The change of *r* to *ar* is quite rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is quite frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house' (also *gēha*), Prāk. *gēha*, Apab. Prāk. *gharu*, Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, Kaśm. *gahar*, *gar*, Old Hindī *gēha*, New Ind. dialects *ghar*, excepting Mar. *gēh*, Sinh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kycl*.

b. Iranian. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' Phl. *apurnāyak*, New Pers. *barnā*, *burnā*. Av. *kərəma* 'worm,' Phl. *karm*, New Pers. *kirm*, Sarq. *carm*, Kurd. *karm*, *kurum*, Dig. Oss. *khalmitha*, Tag. *khalm*. Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šiy. *yurš*, Sarq. *yürx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaž*, Kurd. *virc*, *hirš*, *hire*, Zaza *xēc*, Oss. *ars*. Av. *zərədaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Māz. *zilah*, Gil. *zīl*, Šiy. *zrād*, *zrāy*, Sarq. *zārd*, Sangl. *uzrāy*, Minj. *zīl*, Afy. *zra*, Bal. *zirdē*, Kurd. *zar*, Oss. *zarda*. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Gab. *sart*, Wāxī *sūr(ī)*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sūr*, Oss. *sald*.

*r* > *a*.

§ 68. The change of *r* to *a* is very common in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛddha* 'large,' Prāk. *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Pāli *vaddha*, *viddha*, *buddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Ass. *bar*, Nāip. *barō*, Kāsm. *bor*, *boḍ*, Uṛ., Bang. *baḍa*, E. Hindī *barā*, *barā*, *baddā*, Hindī *baḍā*, Panj. *raḍḍā*, W. Panj. *baḍḍā*, Sindhī *vaḍō*, Guj. *vaḍō*, Gyp. *baro*, but Skt. *ṛddha* 'old,' Uṛ. *būrḥā*, *būḍī*, Bang. *buḍā*, Hindī *buddhā*, *būḍhā*, Panj. *buḍhā*, Sindhī *ḅudhō*, *ḅuḍhō*, Guj. *buṛhō*. Skt. *ṛṣabha* 'bull,' Prāk. *vasaha*, Śāur. Prāk. *vusaha*, Pāli *vasabha*. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house,' Pāli *gaha*, *ghara*, *gēha*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mṛttikā* 'earth,' Prāk. *maṭṭiā*, Pāli *mattikā*, Nāip. *mām̐tō*, Kāsm. *miē*, Uṛ., Bang. *māṭī*, Hindī, Panj. *maṭṭī*, *mittī*, *māṭī*, Sindhī *miṭī*, Guj. *maṭṭī*, *mittī*, *māṭī*, Mar. *māṭī*. Skt. *mṛta* 'dead,' Prāk. *maa*, *mua*, Māg. Prāk. *maḍē*, Uṛ. *malā*, Hindī *muā*, Panj. *muia*, Sindhī *muō*, Guj. *muwūn*, Mar. *mēlēn*, Sinh. *maḷa*, Gyp. *mulo*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *ṛḍaku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *pilang*, *palang*, Afy. *prāng*.

*ṛ > ra*.

§ 69. The change of *ṛ* to *ra* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'tree,' Prāk. *vracha* (inscriptions of Girnar), *rukḥa*, *riccha*, *rikḥa*, Pāli *rukḥa*, Uṛ. *rūḥa*, Hindī *brich*, Mar. *rūḥ*, Sinh. *ruk*, *rik*, Gyp. *ruk*. [According to Pischel § 320 Prāk. *rukḥa* (and its New Ind. derivatives) is derived from Skt. *rukṣa*, not *ṛkṣa*.]

*ṛ > ir*.

§ 70. This change, like the one discussed in the preceding section, occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛtvij* 'brahmanical priest,' Pāli *iritvija*. Skt. *ṛṣa* 'Taurus' (in the Zodiac), Pāli *vusa*, Sindhī *virḥu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kərəma* 'worm,' New Pers. *kirm*, etc. (see § 67).

*ṛ > i*.

§ 71. The change of *ṛ* to *i* occurs with great frequency both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kr̥ta* 'done,' Prāk. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions), *kita*, Māg. Prāk. *kadē*, Māhār. Prāk. *kaya*, Pāis. Prāk. *kata*, Ardhamāg., Avant., Śak. Prāk. *kala*, Apab. Prāk. *kidu*, Pāli *kata*, *kaṭa*, Bihārī *kaḷ*, *kāḷ*, *kayal*, Old Hindī *kūya*, Sindhī *kiō*. Skt. *kr̥paṇa* 'wretched,' Apab. Prāk. *kivaṇu*. Skt. *mṛga* 'deer,' Pāli *miga*, *maga* (cf. Skt. *mṛdanka* 'having a deer-sign, moon,' Prāk. *miamka*). Skt. *ṛṣi* 'sage,' Prāk. *isi*, *risi*, Pāli *isi*, Sinh. *rusi*, Gyp. *rašāy*. Skt. *gr̥dhra* 'vulture,' Śaur. Prāk. *giddha*, Pāli *giddha*, *gijjha*, *gaddha*, Bang. *gidh*, Bihārī *gīdh*, *gidhvā*, Hindī *giddh*, *gīdh*, Panj. *giddh*, Sindhī *gijh*, Guj., Mar. *gidharh*, *gīd(h)*. Skt. *ghṛta* 'melted butter,' Prāk. *ghaya*, Pāli *ghata*, Ur. *ghia*, Bang. *ghi*, Hindī, Panj. *ghī*, *ghiu*, Sindhī *gihu*, Guj., Mar. *ghī*, Gyp. *khil*, Anglo-Ind. *ghee*. Skt. *śṛṅga* 'horn,' Prāk. *siṅga*, *saṅga*, Pāli *siṅga*, Ur. *siṅgā*, Bang. *siṅg*, Hindī *sīng*, Panj. *siṅg*, Sindhī *sinu*, Guj., Mar. *siṅg*, Gyp. *šing*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hia(y)a*, Pāis. Prāk. *hitaaka*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiāum*, Sindhī *himānu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. *(y)ilo*. Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha* 'back,' Prāk. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Jaina Prāk., Pāli *piṭṭhi*, Ur. *pīṭha*, *pīṭhi*, Bang., Hindī *pīṭh*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *puṭṭh*, Sindhī *puṭhī*, Guj. *pīṭh*, *puṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭhā*, Sinh. *pīṭa*, Gyp. *pūsto*. Skt. *tr̥ṣṇā* 'thirst,' Prāk. *taṇhā*, Pāli *taṇhā*, *tiṇhā*, *tasiṇā*, Hindī *tirakkhā*, *tinakhā*, Panj. *tihā*, Sindhī *ṭih*, *ṭihā*, Mar. *tahān*.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Wāxī *tax(i)*, Šiyn. *tāšna*, Sarq. *tür(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thun*, Kurd. *tī*. Av. *zərōdaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Bal. *zirdē*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *arōša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Kurd. *vir*, *hirš*, *hirc*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *gərəpta* 'seized,' New Pers. *giriftah*, Māz. *gītah*, Kāš. *giāft*, Bal. *gipta*.

*r* > *ri*.

§ 72. The change of *r* to *ri* occurs only initially, and only in semitatsamas or tatsamas in the New Indian dialects. The phenomenon is not infrequent in Hindī and Panjābī; Sindhī and



Gujarātī show fewer examples of it, and it is very uncommon in Uṛīya, Bangālī, and Marāṭhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛdhlā* 'prosperity,' Prāk. *riddhi*, *iddhi*, Pāli *iddhi*. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Prāk. *rikkha*, *riccha*, Pāli *ikka*, *accha*, *is(s)a*, Uṛ. (rare) *richa*, Bihārī *rich*, *rīkh*, Hindī *rīch*, Panj. *ricch*, Sindhī *richu*, Guj. *rīch*, Mar. *rīs*. Skt. *gr̥hastha* 'householder,' Hindī *grihastha*, Panj. *g(a)risatī*, Sindhī *grihastu*, Guj. *grastha*.

*ṛ > ur.*

§ 73. The change of *ṛ* to *ur* is frequent only in Pahlavī and New Persian. Elsewhere it is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bərəza* 'high,' Phl., New Pers. *burz*, Kurd. *barz*, Oss. *barzond*. Av. *pərəna* 'full,' Phl., New Pers. *pur*. Av. *pərəsahi* 'thou askest,' Old Pers. *patiparsāhy*, Phl. *pursī-tanō*, New Pers. *pursīdan*, Wāxī, Sarq. *pörsam*, Afy. *pušt*, Kurd. *pīrsin*, Dig. Oss. *farsun*, Tag. *farsin*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, New Pers. *mury*, Māz. *mary*, Afy. *marya*, Kurd. *mrišk*, Oss. *mary*.

*ṛ > u.*

§ 74. The change of *ṛ* to *u* is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. As has been noted in § 66, *ṛ* becomes *u* especially in the vicinity of labials.

a. Indian. Skt. *pr̥thivī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puḍhavī*, *puhuvī*, *puhavī*, Pāli *pathavī*, *paṭhavī*, *puthuvī*, *puthavī*, Old Hindī *pukumī*. Skt. *mṛṇāla* 'lotus-fibre,' Prāk. *muṇāla*, Pāli *mulāla*. Skt. *ṛtu* 'season,' Prāk. *u(d)ā*, *riā*, Pāli *utu*, Sindhī *ruti*, Guj. *rut(u)*. Mar. *rutū*. Skt. *vr̥ṣṭi* 'rain,' Prāk. *vuṭṭhī*, *vittḥī*, Pāli *vuṭṭhi*. Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'old,' Uṛ. *bārḥā*, *būḍī*, Bang. *buḍā*, Hindī *buddhā*, *būḍhā*, Panj. *budhā*, Sindhī *budhō*, *ḷudhō*, Guj. *burhō* (cf. § 68).

b. Iranian. Av. *par̥šti* 'back,' Phl., New Pers. *pušt*, Wāxī *part*, Māz. *pašt*, N. Bal. *phut*, Kurd. *pīšt*, Zaza *pašt*. Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Pāz. *kunom*, New Pers. *kunad*, Gil. *kudan*, *kardan*, Wāxī *čaram*, Šiy. *kinam*, Sarq. *kanam*, Bal. *kanay*, N. Bal. *khanay*, Kurd. *kirin*, Dig. Oss. *khanun*, Tag. *khanin* (cf.



also Skt. *akṛṇavam* 'I did,' Old Pers. *akunavam*; Skt. *akṛṇōt* 'did,' Old Pers. *akunauš*, as well as Av. *kərōta* 'done,' Bal. *kut*, N. Bal. *khuθa*). Av. *varəδka* 'kidney,' Phl. *gurtak*, New Pers. *gurdak*, Wāxī *valk*, Bal. *guttiγ*. Av. *fratərəsaiti* 'fears,' Phl. *tarsūtānō*, Afy. *tarhēdal*, Bal. *trusag*, *tursay*, N. Bal. *thursay*, Kurd. *tirsin*, Dig. Oss. *tharsun*, Tag. *tharsin*.

[Somewhat similar to *r* > *u* is *r* > *ö* before sibilants in Wāxī, e. g. Av. *karšta* 'ploughed,' Wāxī *kōšt*.]

*r* > *ru*.

§ 75. The change of *r* to *ru* occurs but rarely, and like the change of *r* to *ri* (cf. § 72) it is found only initially.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥kṣa* 'tree,' Prāk. *rukkha*, *rikkha*, *riccha*, *vracha*, Pāli *rukkha*, U<sub>r</sub>. *rūkha*, Mar. *rūkh*, Sinh. *ruk*, *rik*, Gyp. *ruk*, etc. (see § 69).

*r* > *ā*.

§ 76. The change of *r* to *ā* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha* 'back,' Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭhā*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *kṛṣi* 'agriculture,' Pāli *kasi*, U<sub>r</sub>. *cāsa*, *tāsa*, Bang. *cās*.

*r* > *ī*.

§ 77. The change of *r* to *ī* is found very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha* 'back,' U<sub>r</sub>. *pīṭha*, *pīṭhi*, Bang., Hindi *pīṭh*, etc. (see § 71).

b. Iranian. Av. *paršti* 'back,' Kurd. *pīšt*, *pišt*, etc. (see § 74).

*r* > *ě*.

§ 78. The change of *r* to *ě* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house' beside *gēha*, Prāk. *gēha*, Pāli *gēha*, *ghara*, *gaha*, Old Hindī *gēha*, Mar. *gēh*, Sinh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*, etc. (see § 67).

b. Iranian. Av. *varəša* 'forest,' Phl. *vēšak*, New Pers. *bēšak*, Kāš. *viša*, Māz., Tāl. *višē*, Kurd. *viša*.

*r* > *ö*.

§ 79. The change of *r* to *ö*, like the other developments of

Indo-Iranian *ṛ* considered in the sections immediately preceding, occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely,' Prāk. *mōsā*, *mūsā*, Pāli *musā* (in like manner Skt. *mṛṣarādin* 'lying,' Prāk. *mōsarāva*, *mūsarāva*, Pāli *musarādin*).

*ṛ* > *al*.

§ 80. In the Indian dialects *ṛ* becomes *al* apparently only in the Māgadhi Prākrit. The Iranian dialects show a few examples of a development of *al* from an original *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛtvā* 'having done,' Prāk. *kariā*, Māg. Prāk. *kaliā*, Bihārī *ka(r)i*, Hindī *kar(i)*. Skt. *dhṛta* 'held,' Prāk. *dharia*, Māg. Prāk. *dhalidē*, Bihārī *dharīl*, *dhāil*, *dhayal* (in this word the Māg. *l* has been elided, while the Māg. *d* has become *l* as in all Bihārī perfect participles).

b. Iranian. Av. *vərəḍka* 'kidney,' Wāxī *valk*, etc. (see § 74). Av. *varaka* 'leaf,' Phl. *varg*, New Pers. *barg*, Gab. *varak*, Kāš. *valg*, Māz. *varak*, Gil. *valg*, *valk*, Judaeo-Pers., Kurd. *valg*.

*ṛ* > *r*.

§ 81. The change of *ṛ* to *r* seems to occur only after *t* and before vowels, and it is apparently confined to the Sindhi.

a. Indian. Skt. *jāmātrka* 'son-in-law,' Prāk. *jāmāua*, Sindhi *jāṭrō*. Skt. *mātrka* 'maternal uncle,' Prāk. *māua*, Sindhi *māṭrē*.

§ 82. Numerous examples may be cited where Indo-Iranian *ṛ* develops into different vowels in the same word in the same period and dialect.

a. Indian. Skt. *tṛṇa* 'grass,' Apab. Prāk. *tṛṇu*, *taṇu*, *tiṇu*, etc. (see § 66). Skt. *grha* 'house,' Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, etc. (see § 67). Skt. *mṛttikā* 'earth,' Hindī, Panj., Guj. *maṭṭī*, *māṭī*, *miṭṭī*, etc. (see § 68). Skt. *vr̥nta* 'stem of a flower,' Prāk. *vinta*, *venta*, *vonta*, Pāli *vanta*. Skt. *ṛṣi* 'sage,' Prāk. *isi*, *risi*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *pṛṣṭha* 'back,' Prāk. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *puṭṭh*, Guj. *piṭh*, *puṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭha*, etc. (see § 71).

Skt. *tṛṣṇā* 'thirst,' Pāli *tiṇhā*, *taṇhā*, *taṣiṇā*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely,' Prāk. *mōsā*, *musā*, *mūsā*, etc. (see § 79).

b. Iranian. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' New Pers. *barnā*, *burnā*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *kərəma* 'worm,' Kurd. *karm*, *kurum*, etc. (see § 67). Skt. *pṛḍaku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *pilang*, *palang*, etc. (see § 68). Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Gil. *kudan*, *kardan*, etc. (see § 74).

The great variety of changes undergone by Indo-Iranian *r* in the various Indo-Iranian dialects is obvious. Thus the *r* of Skt. *mṛttika* 'earth' > *a*, *i*, *ā*; the *r* of Skt. *gṛha* 'house' > *a*, *ē*; of Skt. *vṛddha* 'large' > *a*, *u*, *ō*; of Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ā*, *ī*; of Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely' > *u*, *ū*, *ō*. In like manner the *r* of Av. *pərəsaḥi* 'thou askest' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ō*; and of Av. *paršti* 'back' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ī*.

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ṛ.

§ 83. Indo-Iranian *ṛ*, arising from Indo-Germanic *ṛ*, *ī*, stands in Indian in ablaut with *īr*, *ūr* (before consonants), *ir*, *ur* (before vowels), *āri*, *rā* (Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i. 22-30; Hirt, *Indogerm. Ablaut*, 48-49, 54-55, 60, 70-71, 76 sqq.). In Iranian the Indo-Iranian *ṛ* is represented by *ar* (Bartholomae, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. 25). The Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects have in general retained without change the old representations of Indo-Iranian *ṛ*.

a.-b. Indo-Iranian. Skt. *tīrtha* 'across,' Prāk. *tittha*, *tūha*, Pāli *tittha*; Wāxī *tūrt*. Skt. *ūrmi* 'wave'; Av. *varəmi*, Sarq. *varm*, Bal. *gvarm*. Skt. *dirgha* 'long,' Prāk. *diraha*, *dīha*, *diggha*, Pāli *digha*, Sindhī *ḍrighō*; Av. *darəya*, Old Pers. *darga*, New Pers. *dirāz*, Afγ. *lārya*, Bal. *drāj*, N. Bal. *drāž*, Kurd. *dirîž*, Zaza *darg*, Oss. *dary*.

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l.

§ 84. Indo-Germanic *l* is lost entirely in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, and it disappeared from the Iranian dialects

in the pre-Indian period. In Old Indian *ḷ* is very rare. The developments of *ḷ* in Middle Indian were analogous to those of *ṛ*:

a. Indian. Skt. *klṛpta* 'done,' Prāk. *kilitta*, Pāli *kappita*.

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$\bar{e} = \bar{e}$ .

§ 85. Indo-Indian  $\bar{e}$  is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Indian dialects.

a. Indian. In the Middle and New Indian dialects *e* is long only before vowels and single consonants. Before consonant-groups it is to be regarded as short. In Assamese *e* is invariably short.

Skt. *dēva* 'god,' Prāk. *dēa*, Pāli *dēva*, Kāśm. *day*, Ur., Bang. *dē*, Hindī *dēō*, *dēu*, Panj., Sindhī *dēu*, Gyp. *devēl*, *dcl*. Skt. *prēma* 'love,' Prāk. *pemma*, Pāli *pēma*, New Indian dialects *p(r)ēm*.

b. Iranian. The confusion in New Persian of the *majhūl*  $\bar{e}$  with the *maḡrūf*  $\bar{i}$  has been noted above, § 35. The Caspian dialects also show this confusion, while the Judaeo-Persian, in common with several other Eastern Persian dialects, preserves carefully the distinction between  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{i}$ .

Av. *daēva* 'demon,' Phl., New Pers. *dēv*, Wāxī *liv*, Šiy. *δīv*, Sarq. *δēv*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aḍairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zīr*, Sīv. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Sāmm. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīr*. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl. *vēt*, New Pers. *bēd*, Pamir dialects *viḍ*, Gab. *vīd*. Sīv. *vī*, Zaf., Kāš. *vē*, Vōn. *vīd*, Kuhr. *vēt*, Nat. *vīd*, Afy. *vala*, N. Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *vī*, *bī(h)*.

$\bar{e} > a$ .

§ 86. The change of  $\bar{e}$  to *a* is not frequent. In Western Bangālī, however, several instances of *a* are found where the Eastern Bangālī keeps the original  $\bar{e}$  unchanged (e.g. Skt. *ēka* 'one,' E. Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*).

a. Indian. Skt. *mleccha* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *milicchu*, Pāli *milakkhu*. Skt. *ekādaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēāraha*, Pāli *ekādasa*,

*ekārasa*, Kaśm. *kāh*, Ur., Bang. *ēgāra*, Bihārī *egyārah*, Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giārām*, Sindhī *ikārahaṁ*, *yārahaṁ*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akārā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Afy. *vala*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *aēśma* 'fuel,' Phl. (*h*)*ēzam*, Pāz., New Pers. *hēzam*, Gab. *izma*, Kāš., Kuhr. (*h*)*ēzam*, Kurd. *hazang*.

$\bar{e} > i$ .

§ 87. The change of  $\bar{e}$  to *i* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In the Indian dialects the change occurs more frequently in the West than in the East. Among the Iranian dialects the Ossetish regularly develops *i* from  $\bar{e}$  before *n*.

a. Indian. Skt. *vēdanā* 'pain,' Prāk. *viaṇā*, *vāṇā*, Pāli *vēdanā*. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Prāk. *diara*, *dēvara*, Pāli *dēvara*, Ur. *dēyura*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *dēvar*, *dēyar*, Sindhī *ḍēru*, Guj. *dēur*, *dēr*, Mar. *dēvar*, *dēyar*. Skt. *ekādaśa* 'eleven,' Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Sindhī *ikārahaṁ*, *yārahaṁ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *prativēśaka* 'neighbouring,' Pāli *paṭivissaka*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēza* 'garden,' Old Pers. *παρά]δεῖσος*, Phl. *diz*, New Pers. *diz*, *diž*, *dēz*. Phl. *mēhmān* 'guest,' New Pers. *mēhmān*, *mihmān*, Afy. *mēlma*, Kurd. *mēvān*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'good,' Phl. *nēv(ak)*, New Pers. *nēk(ō)*, *nikō*. Av. *axšaēna* 'green,' Phl., New Pers. *xašīn*, Šiy. *šōin*, Sarq. *xoin*, Yidg. *axšīn*, Afy. *xīn*, *šīn*, Kurd. (*ha*)*šīn*, Oss. *axsinag*. Skt. *phēna* 'foam,' Dig. Oss. *finkha*, Tag. *finkh*.

$\bar{e} > \bar{a}$ .

§ 88. The change of  $\bar{e}$  to  $\bar{a}$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kēyūra* 'bracelet,' Pāli *kāyūra*.

$\bar{e} > \bar{i}$ .

§ 89. The change of  $\bar{e}$  to  $\bar{i}$  is rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting in Pāzand and New Persian, where  $\bar{e}$  becomes  $\bar{i}$  regularly before a nasal.

a. Indian. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Pāiś. Prāk.

*mēkha*, Pāli *mēgha*, Hindī *mīmh*, *mēmh*, Panj. *mīmh*, *mīham*, Sindhī *mīmhhu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēna* 'nose,' Phl. *vēnīk*, *bēnīk*, Pāz. *vīnī*, New Pers. *bīnī*, Sāmn. *vīnī*, Māz. *vēnī*, Tāl. *vīnī*, Kurd. *bēn*, *bivīl*, E. Kurd. *laval*. Av. *axšaēna* 'blue,' Phl., New Pers. *xašīn*, Yidg. *axšīn*, Afy. *xīn*, *šīn*, Kurd. (*ha*)*sīn*, etc. (see § 87). Av. *daēman* 'glance,' Phl. *andēmankar*, Pāz. *andīmānī*, New Pers. *dīm*, Šīr., Zaf., Kāš. *dīm*, Kuhr. *dīm*, *dūm*, Afy. *lēma*, Bal. *dēm*, N. Bal. *dē(m)v*, Kurd. *dēm*. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēt*, New Pers. *sipēd*, *sapēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sōbō*, Kāš. *asbēd*, Kuhr. *asbē*, Sarq. *spaid* (*ai* of secondary development, cf. New Pers. *dēr* 'long,' Sarq. loan-word *dair*), Yidg. *spī*, Kurd. *sipī*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' Pāz. *yah*, New Pers. *yax*, Wāxī, Šīy. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Yayn. *īx*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, Tag. *īx*. Av. *haētu* 'bridge,' Dig. Oss. *xēd*, Tag. *xīd*.

$\bar{e} > \check{o}$ .

§ 90. The change of  $\bar{e}$  to  $\check{o}$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭana* 'crown,' Pāli *vēṭhana*, Siṁh. *voṭunu*, New Siṁh. *oṭunna*.

$\bar{e} > ai$ .

§ 91. The change of  $\bar{e}$  to *ai* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>aēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *x<sup>v</sup>āi*, New Pers. *x<sup>v</sup>ai*, Wāxī *xīl*, Sarq. *xaið*, Afy. *x<sup>v</sup>alē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēð*, Kurd. *xā*, *xoi*, *xōh*, Oss. *xad*.

$\bar{e} > y$ .

§ 92. The change of  $\bar{e}$  to *y* is very rare and it occurs only initially. (This *y* is probably really prothetic.)

a. Sanskrit *ēka* 'one,' Prāk. *ekka*, Pāli *ēka*, Kaśm. *akh*, U<sub>r</sub>., Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*, Bihārī *yak*, *čk*, Old Hindī *ik(k)*, Hindī *ek*, Panj. *ik*, Sindhī *hiku*, (*h*)*čku*, *hikiðō*, *hēkiðō*, Guj. *ek*, *āik*, Mar. *ek*, *yek*, Gyp. *yek*, *yekh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēva* 'one,' Old Pers. *aira*, Phl. *ēv(ak)*, Pāz., New Pers. *yak*, Vōn. *yav*, *ikī*, Kuhr. *y*, *ī*, *ik*, Wāxī *ī(v)*, Šīy. *yīv*,



*yī, yu, yū*, Sarq. *iv, ī*, Sangl. *vak*, Minj. *yao*, Afy. *yav*, Bal. *ēyōk*, Kurd. *īkī*, Dig. Oss. *yau*, Tag. *yu*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' Pāz. *yah*, New Pers., Wāxī, Šiy. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, etc. (see § 89).

*Aphaeresis of ē.*

§ 93. The loss of initial *ē* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēraṇḍa* 'castor-oil tree,' Hindī *rēṇḍī*.

*Apocope of ē.*

§ 94. Final *ē* is lost in the New Indian dialects in the majority of instances.

a. Indian. Skt. *talē* 'beneath,' Ur. *tal(ē)*, Hindī *talē*, Guj., Mar. *tal, taḷ*. Skt. *saṅgē* 'with,' Ur. *saṅgē*, Hindī, Panj. *saṁn*, Sindhī *sām*, Guj. *saṁn*, Mar. *saṁgēm*.

The multiform changes to which a final *ē* is subject in the New Indian dialects may be well illustrated from the modern representatives of Old Indian \**paścē* for the Sanskrit *paścāt* 'after.'

Skt. \**paścē* 'after,' Apab. Prāk. *pacchaī*, Ur. *pachē, pāchu*, Bang. *pichē, pacchē*, Hindī *pāchē, pīchē, pāchū*, Panj. *pichē, pichōm*, Sindhī *pōē, puām*, Guj. *pachē, pachī, pachō*.

$$\bar{a}i = \bar{a}i.$$

§ 95. Indo-Iranian *āi* has been lost in the Indo-Iranian dialects. The few cases in the Iranian dialects in which *āi* is apparently retained show in reality a change of *āi* to *āy* (cf. § 108).

b. Iranian. Av. *rāi* 'radiance,' New Pers. *rāy*. [New Pers. *rāy* is, however, to be compared rather with Av. gen. sg. \**rāyō*.]

$$\bar{a}i > \bar{a}i.$$

§ 96. The change of *āi* to *āi* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *sāiṇya* 'soldier,' Prāk. *saṁna, senna*, Pāli *sēṇiya*.

$\bar{a}i > \bar{i}$ .

§ 97. The change of  $\bar{a}i$  to  $\bar{i}$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhāīrya* 'firmness,' Prāk. *dhīra*, *dhijja*, Ur., Sindhī, Guj., Mar. *dhīr*.

$\bar{a}i > \check{e}$ .

§ 98. The change of  $\bar{a}i$  to  $\check{e}$  is the normal one to which  $\bar{a}i$  is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects, where it is found very frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāila* 'hill,' Prāk., Pāli *sēla*. Skt. *kāivarta* 'fisherman,' Prāk., Pāli *kēvaṭṭa*, Hindī *kēvaṭ*. Skt. *tāila* 'oil,' Prāk., Pāli *tella*, New Ind. dialects *tēl*. Skt. *gāirika* 'red chalk,' Pāli *gērika*, Ur. *gēru*, Hindī *gērū*, Guj. *gēru*, Mar. *gērū*.

$\bar{o} = \bar{ō}$ .

§ 99. Indo-Iranian  $\bar{o}$  is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. In Assamese  $\bar{o}$ , although it is retained in the script, is pronounced  $\check{u}$ . The New Persian presents the same confusion of the *majhūl*  $\bar{o}$  and the *maʔrūf*  $\bar{u}$  which has already been observed in the case of  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{i}$  (see §§ 35, 85). The Judæo-Persian, like the majority of the East Iranian dialects, observes carefully the distinction between  $\bar{o}$  and  $\bar{u}$  (cf. § 85).

a. Indian. Skt. *bhōjana* 'food,' Prāk. *bhōṇa*, Pāli *bhōjana*. Skt. *yōktra* 'yoke,' Pāli *yotta*, Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *jōt*, Sindhī *jōṭō*, Guj. *jōtar*, Mar. *jōt*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Caspian dialects *rū*, excepting Kāš. *rū*, Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Wāxī *rauḡ*, Afγ. *rraḡ*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *rūž*, *rō(ž)*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šīr., Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxī *yūš*, *γīš*, Šīyn. *yūž*, Sarq. *γaul* (au of secondary development), Yidg. *γū*, Afγ. *γvaiγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tāg. *qūs*. Av. *baoiði* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōi*, New Pers. *bō(i)*, Wāxī *vūl*, Sarq. *bao*, Yaγn. *vūd*,

Bal. *bōd*, N. Bal. *bōd*, *bōz*, Oss. *bud*. Av. *raoða* 'face,' Phl. *rōd*, New Pers. *rō(i)*, Judaeo-Pers. *rōi*.

$\bar{o} > au$ .

§ 100. The change of  $\bar{o}$  to *au* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *saokəntarant* 'sulphurous,' Pāz. *sawagand*, New Pers. *saugand*.

$\bar{o} > a$ .

§ 101. The change of  $\bar{o}$  to *a* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *godhūma*, Ass. *ghēnhu*, Nāip. *gahūn*, Ur. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūn*, Hindī *gō(in)hūn*, *gēhūn*, *ghēūn*, Panj. *ghēūn*, Sindhī *gēhūn*, Guj. *ghaūn*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *saocayāhi* 'shalt burn,' Phl. *sōxtanō*, *sōcīnī-tanō*, New Pers. *sōxtan*, Gab. *sajan*, Māz., Gil.  $\sqrt{sūj}$ , Sarq. *sauz*, Afy. *sēzal*, *sējal*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay* (intrans.), Bal. *sōcag*, N. Bal. *sōšay* (trans.), Kurd. *sōtin*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *sūjin*. Av. *sraoni* 'loin,' Phl. *sarūk*, *sarīn*, New Pers. *sarōn*, *surīn*, Wāxī *šunj*, Šiy. *šau*n, Sarq. *xaun*, Bal. *sarēn*. New Pers. *pōz* 'parts about the nose,' Gab. *pūz*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afy. *pōza*, *paza*, Bal. *pō(n)z*, N. Bal. *phōnz*, Kurd. *pūz*, *pōz*, Dig. Oss. *finje*, Tag. *fing*.

$\bar{o} > i$ .

§ 102. The change of  $\bar{o}$  to *i* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'car,' Wāxī *γiš*, *γüš*, etc. (see § 99).

$\bar{o} > u$ .

§ 103. The change of  $\bar{o}$  to *u* is common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. As in all cases of shortening, the phenomenon here discussed occurs especially before double consonants or consonant-groups.

a. Indian. The change of  $\bar{o}$  to *u* in the New Indian dialects occurs more frequently in the West than in the East, although

the Bangālī often has *u* where the other New Indian dialects show *ō*.

Skt. *rōcati* 'shines,' Prāk. *ruccaī*, Māg. Prāk. *lōadi*, Pāli *ruccati*, *rōcati*. Skt. *jyōtsnā* 'moon-lit night,' Prāk. *jōmhā*, Pāli *jūmhā*. Skt. *ōjas* 'strength,' Jaina Prāk. *uya*, Pāli *ōja*. Skt. *lōṭyām* 'in a small water-pot,' E. New Ind. dialects *lōṭiyā*, W. New Ind. dialects *luṭiyā*. Skt., Pāli *lōhakāra* 'blacksmith,' Sindhī *luharu*.

Here too may be considered the Kaśmīrī *ō*, *ū* arising from *ō* through the umlaut of a following *ī*, e.g. Kaśm. *brōr* 'tom-cat,' fem. *brōr* (written *brārū*); Skt. *vrddha* 'large,' Kaśm. *bodḍ* (written *baḍu*), fem. *būḍ* (written *baḍū*), etc. (see § 68).

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf*, New Pers. *kōh*, *kuh*, Kuhr. *kūfūn*, mountain Jewish *kuf*, Afγ. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpak*, N. Bal. *khōfaγ*, Kurd. *kūwī*. Av. *maoiri* 'ant,' Phl., New Pers. *mōr*, Gab. *mōrīk*, Kāš., Vōn. *mōrcuna*, Yidg. *muryah*, Dig. Oss. *muljug*, Tag. *maljig*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Šīr., Bahb. *guš*, etc. (see § 99). New Pers. *gōšah* 'corner,' Kurd. *gūž*, *gūša*, Bohtanī *kuši*.

*ō > ī*.

§ 104. The change of *ō* to *ī* is rather infrequent.

b. Iranian. Some of the New Iranian dialects preserve the transition-grade *ū*.

Phl. *mō(d)*, *mōī* 'hair,' New Pers. *mōī*, Gab. *mīd*, Šīv., Bahb., Nāy., Māz. *mī*, Gil., Tāl. *mū*, other Caspian dialects *mū*, Bal. *mūd*, *mīd*, N. Bal. *mīd*. New Pers. *tōlah* 'puppy,' Šīv. *tīlū*.

*ō > ū*.

§ 105. In Pāzand and New Persian Indo-Iranian *ō* becomes *ū* regularly before *m* or *n* (compare the analogous change in these dialects of *ē* to *ī* before nasals, § 89). In Afyān *ō* becomes *ū* before *n*, but it remains unchanged before *m*. Elsewhere the change is sporadic only.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaona* 'colour,' Phl. *gūn(ak)*, New Pers.

*gūn(ah)*, Afy. *γūna*. Av. *haoma* 'Homa-plant,' Phl. *hōm*, Pāz., New Pers. *hūm*, Afy. *ōma*. Av. *saocayāhi* 'shalt burn,' Māz., Gīl. *√sūj*, Tag. Oss. *sūjin*, etc. (see § 101). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Gab. *rūj*, Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Kurd. *rūž*, *rō(ž)*, etc. (see § 99). Av. *draoya* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōγ*, New Pers. *durōγ*, *darōγ*, Māz. *darū*, *durū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōγ*, Bal. *d(a)rōg*, N. Bal. *drōγ*. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kurd. *rūn*.

$\bar{o} > \bar{e}$ .

§ 106. The change of  $\bar{o}$  to  $\bar{e}$  is found with some frequency.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *rōhita* 'kind of fish,' Ass. *rō*, E. Hindī *rēhū*, Hindī *rōhū*, Panj. *rēhū*, Simh. *rehe*, *rē*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Ass. *ghēm̐hu*, Hindī *gēhūm̐*, *ghēm̐m̐*, *gō(m̐)hūm̐*, Panj. *ghēm̐m̐*, Sindhī *gēhūm̐*, etc. (see § 101). Skt. *cōra* 'thief,' Prāk., Pāli *cōra*, New Ind. dialects *cōr*, excepting Kaśm. *čūr*, Simh. *hera*, *hora*, Gyp. *cor*.

$\bar{o} > va$ .

§ 107. The change of  $\bar{o}$  to *va* occurs regularly in Afyān, excepting before *m*, where  $\bar{o}$  is retained, and before *n*, where  $\bar{o}$  becomes *ū* (see § 105).

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Afy. *γvaiγ*, etc. (see § 99). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Afy. *rvaj*, etc. (see § 99).

$\bar{au} = \bar{au}$ .

§ 108. The Indo-Iranian  $\bar{au}$  has been lost in the Indo-Iranian dialects. The few cases in which  $\bar{au}$  has apparently been retained in the Iranian dialects show in reality a change of  $\bar{au}$  to  $\bar{av}$  (cf. § 95).

b. Iranian. Skt. *nāu* 'ship,' Av. *nāvaya* 'navigable,' Old Pers. *nāviyā* 'fleet' (?), Phl. *nāvīcak*, *nāvtāk*, New Pers. *nāv*. [The New Pers. *nāv* is, however, to be compared rather with the Av. gen. sg. *\*nāvō*.]

*āu* > *ai*.

§ 109. The change of *āu* to *ai* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pāura* 'citizen,' Prāk. *paūra*, Pāli *pōra*. Skt. *gāurava* 'respect,' Prāk. *gaūrava*, Śāur. Prāk. *gōrava*. Skt. *māuli* 'garland,' Prāk. *maūli*, Pāli *mōli*.

*āu* > *u*.

§ 110. The change of *āu* to *u* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāukṣēyaka* 'sword,' Prāk. *kukkhēaa*. Skt. *dāuvārika* 'porter,' Prāk. *duvvāria*, Pāli *dōvārika*. Skt. *cāurya* 'theft,' Prāk. *cōria*, Nāip. *cōrī*, Ur. *cōri*, Bang. *curi*, Hindī, Mar. *cōrī*. Skt. *āutsukya* 'zeal,' Prāk. *ōsukka*, Pāli *ussukka*.

*āu* > *ū*.

§ 111. The change of *āu* to *ū* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāurya* 'heroism,' Prāk. *sōria*, Sindhī *sūrihāī*.

*āu* > *ō*.

§ 112. The change of *āu* to *ō* is the normal one to which Indo-Iranian *āu* is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects. It may also be noted that *āu* in Assamese script is always pronounced *ō*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāumudī* 'moonlight,' Prāk. *kōmui*, Pāli *kōmudī*, Gyp. *comut* 'moon.' Skt. *yāuvana* 'youth,' Prāk. *jorvāṇa*, Pāli *yobbana*, Sindhī *jobhanu*. Skt. *āupamya* 'analogy,' Pāli *ōpamma*. Skt. *gāura* 'pale,' Pāli *gōra*, New Ind. dialects *gōrā*. Skt. *jhāulika* 'pouch,' Ur., Bang. *jhūli*, *jhuli*, *jhōli*, Hindī *jhōli*, Guj., Mar. *jhōlī*.



## SINGLE CONSONANTS

§ 113. The Indo-Iranian consonants remain for the most part unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The law of spirantization which sharply distinguishes the Iranian from the Indian dialects is still operative, and all phenomena to be discussed in the following chapter must be considered with this fact in mind. The principal changes undergone by the Indo-Iranian single consonants are in general easily explicable. Common both to the Indian and to the Iranian dialects, although more frequent in the latter, is the change of an original voiced consonant to a voiceless, or the reverse. Aspiration and deaspiration, the loss of a consonant and the subsequent insertion of *y* or *v* in its place to avoid a resultant hiatus, are the most striking changes noted in the Indian dialects. The changes presented by the Iranian dialects in the single consonants are far more sporadic and less regular than those which are found in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects a voiceless intervocalic consonant regularly becomes voiced. In general it may be said that the Indian dialects have preserved the original Indo-Iranian vowels more faithfully than the Iranian dialects have, but that, on the other hand, the Iranian consonants have suffered less change than the Indian.

In the following paragraphs will be found in some detail the principal changes undergone by the Indo-Iranian consonants in the various Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

$$k = k.$$

§ 114. Indo-Iranian *k* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kathayati* 'tells,' Prāk. *kahāi*, *kahēi*, Pāli *kathēti*, U<sub>r</sub>., Bang., Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kah*, Guj. *kēh*, Simh. *kiyanavā*. Skt. *ēka* 'one,' Prāk. *ekka*, Pāli *ēka*, Kāśm. *akh*, U<sub>r</sub>., Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*, Bihārī *yak*, *ēk*, Old Hindī *ik(k)*, Hindī *ēk*, Panj. *ik*, Sindhī *hiku*, (*h*)*ēku*, *hikidō*, *hēkidō*, Guj. *ēk*, *āik*, Mar. (*y*)*ēk*, Gyp. *yek*, *yekh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf(ak)*, New Pers. *kōh*, Kuhr. *kāfūn*, Tāt *kuf*, Afγ. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpak* N. Bal. *khofay*, Kurd. *kāh*. Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Old Pers. *kunavāhy*, Phl. *karṭanō*, New Pers. *kardan*, Wāxī *čaram*, Šiγn. *kinam*, Sarq. *kanam*, Bal. *kanag*, N. Bal. *khanay*, Kurd. *kirin* Dig. Oss. *khanun*, Tag. *khanin*.

*k* > *kh*, *x*.

§ 115. In the Indian dialects the aspirization of an original *k* is only sporadic, but the Middle and New Iranian dialects regularly change *k* into the spirant *x* internally between vowels. In North Balūci *k* becomes *kh* regularly initially, and the change occurs uniformly both initially and finally in Ossetish.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Prāk., Pāli *khujja*, U<sub>r</sub>. *kūjā*, Bang. *ku(n)jā*, *kubjā*, Hindī *kubjā*, *kubbā*, *kubrā*, Panj. *kubbā*, *kūbā*, Sindhī *kuḷō*, Guj. *kubaṛō*, Mar. *kubaḍā*, *khub*. Skt. *kāsa* 'cough,' Māhār. Prāk. *khāsa*, Pāli *kāsa*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *khāmsī*, *khāmsnā*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Prāk. *kū(v)a*, Pāli *kūpa*, Kāśm. *khuh*, U<sub>r</sub>., Bang. *kūā*, Hindī *kuām*, Panj. *khūhā*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *krōḍaka* 'lap,' Hindī *kōr*, Guj. *khōlō*. Skt. *sukumāra* 'youth,' Prāk. *sūmāla*, *sukumāla*, Pāli *sukhumāla*, *sukumāra*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Phl., New Pers. *kaf*, Wāxī *xuf*, Sarq. *xaf*, Bal. *kap*, Kurd. *kaf*, Dig. Oss. *xaf(a)*, Tag. *xaf*. Av. *kahrkāsa* 'vulture,' Phl. *kahrkās*, *kargas*, New Pers. *kargas*, Bal. *kargaz*, N. Bal. *khargaz*, Oss. *kharkh*. Av. *ahmākam* 'of us,' Old Pers. *amāxam*, New Pers. *mā*, Kāš. (*h*)*ōmō*, *hāmā*, Oss. *max*. GAv. *xšmāka* 'yours,' YAv. *yušmāka*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šarā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*. Av. *niyāka*

‘grandfather,’ Old Pers. *apanyāka*, Phl. *nyāk*, New Pers. *niyā*, Afγ. *nīka*, Bal. *nākū*, N. Bal. *nāxō*, fem. *nakh*.

$k > g$ .

§ 116. The change of *k* to *g* is not frequent, excepting in the Iranian dialects internally between vowels.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kīra* ‘parrot,’ Sinh. *girā*, *giravā*, *kira*. Skt. *marakata* ‘emerald,’ Prāk. *maragaya*. Skt. *sakala* ‘whole,’ Māhar. Prāk. *sayala*, Pāli *sakala*, Bang. *sagun*, Bihārī *sagar*, Hindī *sagun*, *sagrā*, Panj. *sagrā*, Sindhī *sagunū*, Guj. *saglō*, Mar. *sagla*, Sinh. *siyalu*. Skt. *kāka* ‘crow,’ Prāk. *kāa*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kāg*, Sindhī *kāngu*, Mar. *kāg*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ka* ‘who?’ New Pers. *kīh*, Wāxī *kui*, *koi*, Šiyn. *kai*, Sarq. *coi*, Bal. *kē*, N. Bal. *khai*, Tūr Kurd. *gō*, Dig. Oss. *kha*, Tag. *cī*, Kamuntī *khī*. Av. *yākarō* ‘liver,’ Phl. *jakar*, *yakar*, New Pers. *jigar*, Bal. *jagar*, N. Bal. *jaγar*, Kurd. *jark*, Oss. *igar*. Av. *sukuruna* ‘poreupine,’ Phl. *sukur*, New Pers. *sugur(nah)*, Gab. *sīxur*, Afγ. *škōn*, *škun*, Bal. *sīkun*, N. Bal. *sīxun*.

$k > k_i$ .

§ 117. The palatalization of *k* to *k<sub>i</sub>* is found in Iranian.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* ‘hill,’ Kurd. *kīāh*, etc. (see § 114). Av. *kata* ‘house’ Kāš., Kuhr. *kīyah*, Nat. *kīah*, Yidg. *kyē*, etc. (see following §).

$k > c, \check{c}$ .

§ 118. The change of *k* to *c* is very rare in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects *c* or *č* is not infrequently developed from an original *k*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kirāta* ‘name of a degraded tribe,’ Prāk. *cila(d)a* (but *kirāya* ‘monkey’). Skt. *kunda* ‘turner,’ Pāli *cunda*. Skt. *kṛṣi* ‘agriculture,’ Pāli *kasi*, Ur. *cāsa*, *tāsa*, Bang. *cās*. Skt. *gōṣṭhika* ‘belonging to a village,’ Sindhī *gōṭhēcō*.

[Here may be noted the Kāśmīrī change of *k* to *c* in the formation of the feminine, e. g. Kāśm. *bātuk* ‘drake,’ *bātuc* ‘duck.’]

b. Iranian. Av. *kata* 'house,' Phl. *katak*, New Pers. *kad(ah)*, Zaf. *kī*, Kāš. *kiyah*, Vön. *kē*, Kuhr. *kiyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Wāxī *kat*, Šiyn. *čīd*, Sarq. *cēd*, Minj. *kai*, Yidg. *kyē*. Av. *kərata* 'knife,' Phl. *kārt*, New Pers. *kārd*, N. Afy. *cārah*, Bal. *kārd(a)*, N. Bal. *khārea*, Kurd. *kīr(d)*, Oss. *khard*. New Pers. *kāik* 'flea,' Kurd. *kēc*, *kac*. Av. *ka* 'who?' Sarq. *coi*, Tag. Oss. *cī*, etc. (see § 116). Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Zaf., Kāš. *sōzō*, Wāxī *sič*, Sarq. *sīč*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sīcīn*, N. Bal. *sīšin*, *šīšan*, *šīšin*, *sēšin*, Kurd. *šūžin*.

$k > t$ .

§ 119. The change of *k* to *t* is very rare. In many of its occurrences it is due to dissimilation.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛṣi* 'agriculture,' Ur. *tāsa*, *cāsa*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kakkōla* 'bdellium,' Pāli *takkōla*, Sinh. *takul*.

$k > p$ .

§ 120. The change of *k* to *p* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jalūkikā* 'leech,' Pāli *jalupikā*, *jalūka* (due in this example to dissimilation).

$k > bh$ .

§ 121. The change of *k* to *bh* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *śīkara* 'spray,' Prāk. *sī(h)ara*, *sībhara*, Pāli *śīkara*. [See now Pischel, § 206.]

$k > y$ .

§ 122. The change of *k* to *y* is only apparent. The *k* is actually lost through the transition-grade *g*, and *y* is then inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of the *k*. The phenomenon is far less frequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nārikēla* 'cocoanut,' Nāip. *narival*, Bang. *nārēl*, Bihārī *nāriyar*, Hindī *nāriyal*, Panj. *nārēlu*, *nalēru*, Sindhī *nārēlu*, *nāīru*, Guj. *nāriyal*, Mar. *nārāl*. Skt. *ākāra*

'figure,' Prāk. *āgāra*, Māhār. *āyāra*, *ākāra*, Pāli *ākāra*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk. *kōila*, Ur. *kōyila*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kōil*, Guj. *kōyal*, Mar. *kōkil*, Sinh. *kovullā*, Anglo-Ind. *koil*. Skt. (*u*)*daka* 'water,' Jaina Prāk. *daga*, Pāli *daka*, *ōka*, Sinh. *daga*, *daya*, *diya*. Skt. *cakōra* 'sort of bird,' Elu *siyuru*, Sinh. *siyuru*, *sivru*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *māṭikān* 'mare,' New Pers. *mādigān*, Bal. *mādyān*, N. Bal. *mādin*, *māzin*.

$k > v$ .

§ 123. The change of *k* to *v*, like that of *k* to *y*, is only apparent. The *k* is actually lost through the transition-grade *g*, and *v* is then inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of the *k*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuka* 'parrot,' Pāli *suka*, *suva*. Skt. *nakula* 'mongoose,' Pāli *nakula*, Ur., Bang. *nēul*, Hindī *nēval*, Panj. *nēul*, Sindhī *nōru*, Guj. *nōliyu*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Sinh. *kovullā*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Skt. *vikāsatē* 'appears,' Phl. *gukās* 'witness,' Pāz. *guvāh*, *guvāi*, New Pers. *guvā(h)*. Skt. *vikarōti* 'transposes,' Phl. *gukarūtanō*, Pāz. *guhārād*, New Pers. *guvārād*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afγ. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*.

$k > \check{s}$ .

§ 124. The change of *k* to *\check{s}* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sāka* 'needle,' N. Bal. *sīšīn*, *šīšan*, *šīšīn*, *sēšīn*, etc. (see § 118).

$k > h$ .

§ 125. The change of *k* to *h* is rare in the Indian and especially rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphaṭika* 'crystal,' Prāk. *phaliha*, *phaliya*, *phaḍia*, Pāli *phalika*. Skt. *śrikā* 'beauty,' Māhār. Prāk. *sirihā*. Skt. *nikāśa* 'touchstone,' Prāk. *nihasa*, Jaina Prāk. *nihasa*, *nighasa*,



Pāli *nikasa*. Skt. *sr̥janakāra* 'creator,' Sindhī *sr̥janahāru*. Skt. *ākāśa* 'sky,' Prāk. *āyāsa*, Pāli *ākāsa*, Sinh. *ahasa*, *āsa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Kurd. *sah*, etc. (see § 123).

*k* > *z*, *ž*.

§ 126. The change of *k* to *z*, *ž* occurs with extreme rarity in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Zaf., Kāš. *sōzō*, Kurd. *šūžin*, etc. (see § 118).

### *Aphaeresis of k.*

§ 127. The loss of an initial *k* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kuddāla* 'hoe,' Ur. *kōrā*, Bang. *kōḍal*, Sindhī *kōṛarī*, Guj. *kōdārō*, Sinh. *udalu*, *udalla*.

### *Syncope of k.*

§ 128. The loss of an internal *k* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, although it is noteworthy that the phenomenon occurs more often in the Middle than in the New period.

a. Indian. Skt. *avakāśa* 'opportunity,' Prāk. *ōśa*, *avayāsa*, Pāli *ōkāsa*, *avakāsa*. Skt. *nakula* 'mongoose,' Ur., Bang., Panj. *nēul*, Sindhī *nōru*, Guj. *nōliyu*, etc. (see § 123). Skt. *nārikēla* 'cocoanut,' Bang. *nārēl*, Panj. *narēlu*, *nalēru*, Sindhī *nārēlu*, *nāiru*, Mar. *nāraḷ*, etc. (see § 122). Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk. *kōila*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kōil*, etc. (see § 122). Skt. *carmakāra* 'leather-worker,' Pāli *cammakāra*, Ur. *camāra*, Bang. *cāmār*, Hindī, Panj. *camār*, Sindhī *camāru*, Guj. *camār*, Mar. *cāmhār*.

### *Apocope of k.*

§ 129. The loss of a final *k* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *baḍaka* 'servant,' Phl. *bandak*, New Pers. *bandah*. Phl. *cārak* 'means,' Pāz. *cāra*, New Pers. *cārah*, Afγ. *cāra*, *čara*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Gab. *sabū*, *savā*,



Kāš. *aspā*, *asbā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afγ. *spai*, etc. (see § 123).  
Skt. *navaka* 'lad,' New Pers. *navah*, Kurd. *lāv*, *lō*, *lau(k)*. Phl. *xānak* 'house,' New Pers. *xānah*, Kurd. *xānī*, Mukrī *xānū*.

### *Epenthesis of k.*

§ 130. The insertion of *k* is very rare (merely graphic?).

b. Iranian. Av. *miθaoxta* 'lie,' Phl. *mīṭōkxt*, Pāz. *mīduxt*.

$$lh = kh.$$

§ 131. Indo-Iranian *kh* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nakha* 'nail,' Prāk., Pāli *nakha*, Gyp. *nay*. Skt. *likhati* 'writes,' Prāk. *lihaṛ*, Pāli *likhati*, Kāśm. *lekh*, Hindī *likhnā*, Guj. *lakhavun*, Mar. *lihiṇēm*, Siñh. *liyanavā*. Skt. *khara* 'donkey,' Prāk., Pāli *khara*. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' Prāk. *khāṛ*, Pāli *khādati*, Ur. *khāṛbā*, Bang. *khāṛtē*, Hindī *khānā*, Panj. *khāṇā*, Sindhī *khāṛnu*, Guj. *khāvun*, Mar. *khāṇēm*, Siñh. *kanavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Phl., New Pers. *xar*, Wāxī *xur*, Šiyn. *har*, Sarq. *car*, *sar*, Sangl. *xar*, Minj. *xara*, Yidg. *xuruh*, Afγ. *xar*, N. Bal. *khar*, *xar*, Kurd. *k(i)ar*, Zaza *xar*, Oss. *xarag*. Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Phl. *nāxān*, New Pers. *nāxun*, Afγ. *nūk*, Bal. *nakun*, *nāhun*, N. Bal. *nāxun*, Kurd. *nainuk*, Oss. *nix*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' New Pers. *yax*, Wāxī *yix*, Šiyn. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Yayn. *ix*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, Tag. *ix*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Afγ. *max*.

$$kh > k.$$

§ 132. In the Indian dialects the deaspirization of an original *kh* is very rare, but in the later Iranian dialects the phenomenon is somewhat more frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *khalu* 'indeed,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *ku*, lit. Prāk. *khu*, Pāli *khō*, *khalu*. Skt. *khā* 'spring,' Pāli *kā*, *khā*, Gyp. *chev*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Kurd. *k(i)ar*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, etc. (see preceding §).

*kh > gh, γ.*

§ 133. The change of *kh* to *gh, γ*, is found occasionally in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēkha* 'line,' Prāk. *rēha*, Pāli *rēkha*, Hindī, Panj. *rēkh*, Sindhī *rēghī*, Guj. *rēg*, *rēkh*, Mar. *rēgh*. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'chain,' Prāk. *saṁkala*, *saṁkhalā*, *siṁkhalā*, Pāli *saṁkhalā*, Kaśm. *hāmhala*, Uṛ. *sāmkala*, *sāmkaṛa*, Bang. *śīkal*, *sikal*, Panj., Sindhī *saṁghar*, Guj. *sāmkaḷ*, Mar. *sā(ṇ)kaḷ*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śākhā* 'twig,' Phl. *šāk*, New Pers. *šāx*, *šāγ*.

*kh > c.*

§ 134. The change of *kh* to *c* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Sarq. *car*, *sar*, etc. (see § 131).

*kh > s.*

§ 135. This change, like the preceding one, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Sarq. *sar*, *car*, etc. (see § 131).

*kh > h.*

§ 136. The change of *kh* to *h* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although it occurs less frequently in the latter group of languages.

a. Indian. Skt. *sakhi* 'friend,' Prāk. *sahi*, Pāli *sakhi*, Sindhī *sahī*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Prāk. *muha*, Pāli *mukha*, Bihārī *mu(ṇ)h*, Hindī *mumh*, Panj. *mūmhu*, *muhum*, Sindhī *mumhuni*, *mukhu*, Simh. *muva*, Gyp. *muy*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Šīyn. *har*, etc. (see § 131). Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, etc. (see § 131).

*kh > y.*

§ 137. The change of *kh* to *y*, like that of *k* to *y* (see § 122), is only apparent.

a. Indian. Skt. *likhati* 'writes,' Sinh. *liyanavā*, etc. (see § 131).

*kh > v*.

§ 138. The change of *kh* to *v*, which is, like that of *k* to *v* (see § 123), only apparent, occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Sinh. *muva*, etc. (see § 136).

### *Prothesis of kh.*

§ 139. Prothetic *kh* is found quite frequently in the Iranian dialects prefixed to words which originally began with vowels.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēšma* 'wrath,' Phl. *xēšm*, New Pers. *xišm*. Av. *araša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šīn. *yurš*, Sarq. *yürx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaš*, Kurd. *viré*, *hirc*, *hirš*, Zaza *xēc*, Oss. *ars*. Gk. *ᾠόν* 'egg,' Phl. *xāyak*, New Pers. *xāyah*, Gab. *vuc*, Afy. *hā*, Bal. *haik*, Kurd. *haik*, *hī*, *hēk*, Oss. *aikh(a)*. Skt. *āma* 'raw,' New Pers. *xām*, Wāxī *yüng*, Afy. *ōm*, *ūm*, Bal. *hāmag*, N. Bal. *hāmay*, Kurd. *xāv*.

*g = g.*

§ 140. Indo-Iranian *g* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, except for the Iranian law of spirantization which develops *γ* from *g*, unless the *g* is either initial or is preceded by a nasal or a sibilant.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pāli *gadrabha*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Ur. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, Bihārī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddō*, Sindhī *garāhu*, Guj. *gadhēḍō*, Mar. *gūḍhav*. Skt. *yugala* 'pair,' Apab. Prāk. *jualu*, Pāli *yugala*, Ur. *jugala*, Bang., Hindī, Panj., Guj. *jugal*, Mar. *julā*, *jūl*, *juval*.

b. Iranian. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Old Pers. *garmapada*, Phl., New Pers. *garm*, Šīn. *garm*, Sarq. *gürm*, *žürm*, Afy. *γārma*, Bal., Kurd. *garm*, Dig. Oss. *γarm*, Tag. *qarm*. Av. *gāu* 'cow,' Phl., New Pers. *gō*, *gav*, Zaf., Kāš., Vön. *gō*, Kuhr. *gōb*, Wāxī *γau*, *γü*, Šīn. *žāv*, Sarq. *žao*, Sangl., Minj. *γao*, Yayn. *gova*, Afy. *γvā*, Bal. *gōk*, N. Bal. *gōx*, Kurd. *gā*, Dig. Oss. *γog*, Tag. *qūg*. Skt. *bhōga* 'joint,' Bal. *bōg*, N. Bal. *bōγ*.

$g > k$ .

§ 141. The change of the voiced  $g$  to the voiceless  $k$  is not frequent in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects it is still more rare, excepting in the Tagaurish Ossetish, which has  $g$  initially for Indo-Iranian  $g$  (Digaurish  $\gamma$ ).

a. Indian. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Prāk. *ṇaara*, Māhār. Prāk. *ṇayara*, Pāīś. Prāk. *nakara*, New Ind. dialects *nāir*, *nēr*, Siṁh. *nuvara*, *niyari*. Skt. *maga* 'Magian,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *maka*. Skt. *chagala* 'goat,' Pāli *chakala*. Skt. *ajagara* 'boa-constrictor,' Pāli *ajakara*, *ajagara*. Skt. *garuḍa* 'mythical bird,' Prāk. *garuḍa*, *garuḷa*, *galuḍa*, Pāli *garuḷa*, Eḷu *gurulu*, Siṁh. *kurulla*. Skt. *ga(m)bhīra* 'deep,' Prāk. *gahira*, Pāli *ga(m)bhīra*, Ur. *gahira*, Hindī *gahirā*, *gaharā*, Sindhī *gahirō*, Siṁh. *gūmburu*, *kumburu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Tag. Oss. *qarm*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šīr., Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Šīyn. *γūž*, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afγ. *γvaiγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*.

$g > gh, \gamma$ .

§ 142. The aspirization of Indo-Iranian  $g$  is rare and only sporadic in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects  $g$  becomes  $\gamma$  regularly, excepting initially or after a nasal or a sibilant. In the Pāmīr dialects, in Afγān, and in Digaurish Ossetish Indo-Iranian  $g$  becomes  $\gamma$  also initially.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥ha*, *gēha* 'house,' Prāk. *gēha*, Apab. Prāk. *gharu*, Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, Kāśm. *gahar*, *gar*, Old Hindī *gēha*, New Ind. dialects *ghar*, excepting Mar. *gēh*, Siṁh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēm̐hu*, Nāip. *gahūm̐*, Ur. *ga(ha)ma*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm̐*, Hindī *gō(m̐)hūm̐*, *gēhūm̐*, *ghēum̐*, Panj. *ghēum̐*, Sindhī *gēhūm̐*, Guj. *ghaūm̐*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juγ*, Šīyn. *yuγ*, Sarq. *yūγ*, Kurd. *jūk*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Šīyn.

*yūž*, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afγ. *γvaiγ*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *gaēa* 'thief,' Afγ. *γal*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, New Pers. *mury*, Māz. *mary*, Afγ. *marya*, Kurd. *mrišk*, Oss. *mary*. Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *nān* 'bread,' Saf. *nū*, Nāy. *nāu*, Minj. *nayan*, Cent. Dial. *nūn*, Bal. *nagan*, N. Bal. *nayan*.

*g > y*.

§ 143. The change of *g* to *y* is only apparent. The *g* is in reality lost, and *y* is then inserted to prevent the resulting hiatus (cf. §§ 122, 137).

a. Indian. Skt. *jagat* 'world,' Māhār. Prāk. *jaya*, Sindhī *jaḡu*, *jaḡaṭu*. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Māhār. Prāk. *nayara*, Sinh. *niyari*, *nuvara*, etc. (see § 141). Skt. *nāga* 'snake,' Prāk., Pāli *nāga*, Sinh. *naḡā*, *nā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zairi-gaona* 'having a golden colour,' Phl. *zarīngūn*, New Pers. *zargūn*, Afγ. *zaryūn*.

*g > v*.

§ 144. The change of *g* to *v* in the Indian dialects is only an apparent one, the *v* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of the original *g* (cf. §§ 123, 138). In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, the change of *g* to *v* is a real one. The phenomenon does not occur frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Sinh. *nuvara*, *niyari*, etc. (see § 141).

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *magu* 'Magian,' Phl. *magū*, *magūpaṭ*, *marpaṭ*, New Pers. *muy*, *mōy*, *mōbad*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, etc. (see § 142). New Pers. *xargōš* 'hare' (lit. 'donkey-eared,' Av. *\*xara-gaoša*), Kurd. *karvaš*.

*g > ž*.

§ 145. The change of *g* to *ž* is excessively rare, although it is sometimes found initially in sporadic words in Šīynī and Sariqolī.

b. Iranian. Av. *gāu* 'cow,' Šīyn. *zāv*, Sarq. *žao*, etc. (see § 140). Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Sarq. *žürm*, *gürm*, etc. (see § 140).

*g* > *h*.

§ 146. The change of *g* to *h* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāginēya* 'sister's son,' Pāli *bhāgiṇeṇja*, Sinh. *bāhūnā*, *bānā*.

### *Syncope of g.*

§ 147. The loss of an internal *g* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although the New Indian does not suffer syncope of *g* as frequently as do the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāgadadhēya* 'share,' Prāk. *bhāadēha*, Māhār. Prāk. *bhāya*, Pāli *bhāga*. Skt. *sṛgāla* 'jackal,' Prāk. *siāla*, Pāli *sigāla*, Uṛ. *śiāla*, *ścāla*, Bang. *siāl*, Sinh. *hivalā*. Skt. *āgata* 'arrived,' Māg. Prāk. *āade*. Skt. *dviguṇa* 'two-fold,' Prāk. *duuṇa*, Pāli *diguṇa*, Hindī, Panj. *dūnā*, Sindhī *ḍūṇā*, Mar. *dūṇ*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bahinī*, *bhaiṇī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Uṛ. *bhāuṇī*, *bhaiṇī*, Bang. *baīn*, Hindī *bahin*, Panj. *bhāīn*, *bāīnh*, Sindhī *bhēṇi*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīn*, *bhāīn*. Skt. *yugala* 'pair,' Apab. Prāk. *juaḷu*, Mar. *julā*, *jāl*, *juaḷ*, etc. (see § 140).

b. Iranian. Av. *draoγa* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōγ*, New Pers. *durōγ*, Māz. *darū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afγ. *darōγ*, Bal. *d(a)rōg*, N. Bal. *drōγ*, Kurd. *darāv*, *darau*. Av. *ci* 'what?' + *gaona* 'kind,' Phl. *cigūn(īh)*, New Pers. *cigūnah*, *cūn*.

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*gh* = *gh*.

§ 148. Indo-Iranian *gh* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ghaṭa* 'jar,' Prāk. *ghaḍa*, Hindī *ghaḍā*, other New Ind. dialects *ghaḍī*, Gyp. *khōrō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maēγa* 'cloud,' Phl., New Pers. *mēγ*, Dig. Oss. *mēγa*, Tag. *mīγ*.



*gh* > *k*.

§ 149. The change of *gh* to *k* occurs very rarely as a final in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašmaoya* 'destroying righteousness,' Phl. *ahramōk*. Av. *daγa* 'conflagration,' Phl. *dāγ*, New Pers. *dāγ*, Bal. *dāg*, N. Bal. *dāγ*, Kurd. *duk*.

*gh* > *kh*.

§ 150. The change of *gh* to *kh* occurs regularly in Pāisācī Prākṛit.

a. Indian. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Pāis. Prāk. *mēkha*, Pāli *mēgha*, Hindī *mēm̐h*, *mīm̐h*, Panj. *mīm̐h*, *mīhan̐*, Sindhī *mīm̐hu*.

*gh* > *g*.

§ 151. The deaspirization of *gh* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting in Kaśmīrī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ghōṭaka* 'horse,' Prāk. *ghōḍaa*, Pāli *ghōṭaka*, New Ind. dialects *ghōra*, but Kaśm. *gur̥*<sup>u</sup>, Gyp. *garō*. Skt. *vighaṭatē* 'perishes,' Pāli *vighāṭēti*, Ur., Bang. *bigaḍa*, Hindī, Panj. *bigaḍ*, Sindhī *bigiḍ*, Guj. *bagad*, Mar. *bighaḍ*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *γulyul* 'chatter,' Kurd. *gālagāl*, *galgāl*.

*gh* > *h*.

§ 152. The change of *gh* to *h* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *laghu* 'light,' Prāk., Pāli *lahu*, Sinh. *lahu*, *luhu*. Skt. *araghaṭṭa* 'well-wheel,' Hindī, Panj. *(a)rahaṭ*, Sindhī *ar(a)ṭu*, Guj. *rēm̐ṭ*, Mar. *rahāṭ*. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Hindī *mēm̐h*, *mīm̐h*, Panj. *mīm̐h*, *mīhan̐*, Sindhī *mīm̐hu*, etc. (see § 150).

b. Iranian. Av. *\*baya-stāna* 'abode of God,' Old Pers. *τὸ Βαγίστανον* *ōpos*, Pāz. *bay*, New Pers. *bahistūn*, *bahistān*, *bīstūn*.

*Syncope of gh.*

§ 153. The loss of Indo-Iranian *gh* internally is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raṣa* nom. prop., Old Pers. *raga*, Phl. *rah*, *rāi*, New Pers. *rai*.

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*ɾ, ɳ*

§ 154. Of the Middle and New Indian dialects the Sindhī, Assamese, and Nāipālī alone have retained *ɾ, ɳ*, pronounced *ɾg* and *ɳḡ*. In the rest of the New Indian and in all the Iranian dialects *ɾ* and *ɳ* have been lost. The Sindhī *ɾ* and *ɳ* are of secondary development in the majority of their occurrences.

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*c = c.*

§ 155. Indo-Iranian *c* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, although in the latter group internal Indo-Iranian *c* is rare, excepting in Pahlavī and Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvāri* 'four,' Prāk. *cattāri*, *caūro*, Pāli *catu*, Ur., Bang. *cāri*, Kāśm. *čōr*, Hindī, Panj. *cār*, Sindhī *cāri*, Guj., Mar. *cār*. Skt. *nīcē* 'beneath,' Ur., Bang. *nīca*, Hindī *nīcā*, Panj. *nīcōṁ*, Sindhī, Guj. *nīcē*, Mar. *nīc*.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Phl., New Pers. *cašm*, Gab. *cam*, Sīv., Zaf. *caš*, Kāš., Vōn. *cam*, Kuhr. *caš*, Samn., Māz. *cas*, Gīl. *ciš*, Wāxī *cōšm*, Šīyn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Sangl. *šam*, Minj. *cam*, Yidg. *cum*, Bal. *cam*, N. Bal. *cham*, Kurd. *cāv*, Zaza *cim*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*. Av. *caxra* 'wheel,' Phl. *caxr*, New Pers. *carx*, *cahr*, Kāš. *cōrā*, *cīr*, Dig. Oss. *calx*. Av. *ciθra* 'appearance,' Old Pers. *ciθra*, Phl. *citrē*, *cihr(ak)*, New Pers. *cihr(ah)*, Afγ. *čīra*, *sīra*, Kurd. *cāra*.

*c > č.*

§ 156. The change of the palatal *c* to the affricative *č* is very rare in the Indian dialects, excepting in Kāśmīrī, Kafirī, and East Bangālī. In early tadbhavas, dēśajas, and before non-palatal

vowels the Marāṭhī pronounces *c* as *č*, and *j* as *ǰ*, but before the palatal vowels *ī*, *ē*, in tatsamas and late tadbhavas the old sounds of *c* and *j* are retained. The Iranian dialects show few instances of a change of *c* to *č*, excepting in the Persian dialects and in Afyān.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvāri* 'four,' Kāśm. *čōr*, etc. (see preceding §). Kaf. *māč* 'man,' Sindhī *mācu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl., New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiyn. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafir*, Yidg. *čir*, Afγ. *čalōr*, Bal. *cār*, N. Bal. *cyār*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Šiyn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Phl. *pazēt*, New Pers. *pazad*, Gab. *paxa*, Kāš. *patan*, Māz. *paxta*, Wāxī *pōcam*, Afγ. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Bazazid *pāthin*, Dig. Oss. *fičun*, Tag. *fičin*.

*c* > *ch*.

§ 157. The change of *c* to *ch* is found initially in North Balūci.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' N. Bal. *cham*, etc. (see § 155).

*c* > *j*.

§ 158. The change of the tenuis *c* to the media *j* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. It is, on the other hand, common between vowels in the Persian dialects, where the New Persian shows *z* (see § 167).

a. Indian. Skt. *acalā* 'earth,' Prak. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *ajalā*, Māhār. Prak. *ayaḷā*. Skt. *sruc* 'ladle,' Pāli *suja*. Skt. *māca* 'glass,' Mar. (vulg.) *māj*.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasaocayāhi* 'burnest,' Phl. *sōcēm*, Pāz. *sōzēt*, New Pers. *sōzam*, Gab. *sajan*, Māz., Gīl. ✓*sūj*, Sarq. *sauz*, Afγ. *sējal*, *svaǰavul*, *sēzal*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay*, Dig. Oss. *sōǰun*, Tag. *sūjin*. Av. *haca + aǰairi* 'from beneath,' Phl. *ažēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Šir. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central

dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīr*, Tag. Oss. *dula*. Av. *raocaŋ* 'spoke,' Phl. *vāc(ak)* 'voice,' New Pers. *vāž*, *bāj*, Gab. *vivaŋi*, Zaf. *vāž*, Kāš. *vōj*, Vön. *bōjū*, Kuhr. *bavōjī*, Nāy. *ūvāj*.

$c > \check{j}$ .

§ 159. The change of *c* to *ĵ* is excessively rare. Cases of it are found in Afyān and Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasaocayāhi* 'burnest,' Afy. *sčǰal*, *svaǰ-avul*, *sčzal*, Dig. Oss. *sōǰun*, Tag. *sūǰin*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc(ih)*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Sīv. *rōšā*, Caspian dialects *rū*, but Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Afy. *rvaǰ*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *ruž*, *rō(ž)*.

$c > \text{th}$ .

§ 160. The change of *c* to *th*, like all other changes in which the cerebrals are concerned, is confined to the Indian dialects. It is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *caṇcu* 'beak,' Ur. *thaṇṭ*, *thōṇṭ*, Bang. *thōṇṭ*, *cōṇṭ*, Hindī *thōṇṭh*, *cōṇc*, Guj. *cāṇc*, Mar. *cōṇc*.

$c > t$ .

§ 161. The change of *c* to *t* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *cikitsā* 'cure,' Jāina Prāk. *tēgicchā*, Pālī *tikicchā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Kāš. *patan*, Kurd. *pātin*, etc. (see § 156). Old Pers. *cišciy* 'anything,' New Pers. *cīz*, Kurd. *tišt*.

$c > \text{th}, \theta$ .

§ 162. The change of *c* to *th*, *θ*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *caṇcu* 'beak,' Ur. *thaṇṭ*, *thōṇṭ*, etc. (see § 160).

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Bayazid Kurd. *pāthin*, etc. (see § 156).

$c > d$ .

§ 163. The change of  $c$  to  $d$  occurs with extreme rarity excepting in Sinhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *ācārya* 'teacher,' Māhār. Prāk. *āyariya*, Pāli *ācāriya*, Sinh. *ādurā*, Maladive *eduru*. Skt. *mucanti* 'they release,' Prāk. *mucaĩ*, Māhār. Prāk. *muyai*, Pāli *muñcati*, Sinh. *mudanavā*.

$c > y$ .

§ 164. The change of  $c$  to  $y$  is only an apparent one,  $y$  being inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the syncope of  $c$  (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143).

a. Indian. Skt. *ācārya* 'teacher,' Māhār. Prāk. *āyariya*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mucanti* 'they release,' Māhār. Prāk. *muyai*, etc. (see preceding §).

$c > s$ .

§ 165. In Assamese and West Hindī  $c$  is always pronounced  $s$ . The Sinhalese often changes  $c$  to  $s$ , which may further develop into  $h$ . Of the Iranian dialects the Afyān shows the development of  $s$  from  $c$  most frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Prāk., Pāli *cakka*, Ass. *cāk* (pron. *sāk*), Ur. *cak*, E. Hindī *cāk*, W. Hindī *cakkī* (pron. *sakkī*), Panj. *cakk*, Sindhī *caku*, Guj., Mar. *cāk*, Sinh. *sak*, *hak*. Skt. *pacati* 'cooks,' Pāli *pacati*, New Ind. dialects  $\sqrt{pac}$ , Sinh. *pāsavanavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ciθra* 'appearance,' Afy. *sīra*, *čīra* (see § 155).

$c > š$ .

§ 166. The change of  $c$  to  $š$  occurs very rarely in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *haca* 'from,' Old Pers. *hacā*, Phl. *aj*, New Pers. *az*, *z(i)*, Wāxī, Sarq. *z*, Afy. *š*, Bal. *ac*, *aš*, Kurd. *až*, *ž(a)*. Phl. *nācuk* 'tender,' New Pers. *nāzūk*, Kuhr. *naštar*. Phl. *(h)ēc* 'ever,' Pāz. *hēc(i)*, New Pers. *(h)ēc*, *hēc*, Kāš. *ēc*. Av. *raocah*

‘day,’ Siv. *rōšā*, N. Bal. *rōš*, etc. (see § 159). Phl. *cōp* ‘wood,’ New Pers. *cōb*, Šir. *cūγ*, Wāxī *šōkk*, Sarq. *xaib*, Kurd. *cō*, Amarlu *šiv*.

$c > z$ .

§ 167. The change of *c* to *z* is made regularly in New Persian between vowels, after *r*, and finally.

b. Iranian. Av. *tacaiti* ‘runs,’ Phl. *tācēt*, *tāzēt*, New Pers. *tāzad*, Wāxī *tōcam*, Sarq. *tajam*, Afγ. *tašal*, Bal. *tacag*, N. Bal. *thašay*, Dig. Oss. *thajin*. Av. *raucah* ‘day,’ New Pers. *rōz*, etc. (see § 159). Av. *sacaiti* ‘follows,’ Phl. *sāxtanō*, New Pers. *sāzad*, Kāš. *basōj*, Judaeo-Pers. *sāzad*.

$c > \xi$ .

§ 168. The change of *c* to *ξ*, which is closely akin to that discussed in the preceding paragraph, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *huciθra* ‘beautiful,’ Phl. *hucih*r, New Pers. *hujir*, *xujir*, *hužir*. Av. *raucah* ‘day,’ Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Kurd. *rūž*, *rōž*, *rō*, etc. (see § 159). Old Pers. *καπιθη* ‘measure for wheat,’ Phl. *kapīc*, New Pers. *hazīž*, *kavīz*.

$c > h$ .

§ 169. The change of *c* to *h* is made, as already noted in § 165, through the transition-grade *s*. It is not of common occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* ‘wheel,’ Sinh. *hak*, *sak*, etc. (see § 165). Skt. *cōra* ‘thief,’ Prāk., Pāli *cōra*, New Ind. dialects and Gyp. *cōr*, Sinh. *hora*, *hera*.

$c > c^i$ .

§ 170. The change of *c* to *c<sup>i</sup>* is found occasionally in the North Balūci.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* ‘four,’ N. Bal. *cyār*, etc. (see § 156).

#### *Syncope of c.*

§ 171. The loss of Indo-Iranian *c* occurs not infrequently in the



Indo-Iranian dialects. It is more common in the Middle than in the New Indian period. In the Iranian dialects, where the syncope is found least often, *c* is lost only in the vicinity of long vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *vacana* 'voice,' Prāk. *vaṇa*, *vacana*, Pāli *vacana*, Sindhī *vacanu*. Skt. *sūcī* 'needle,' Prāk. *sūl*, Pāli *sūcī*, U<sub>r</sub>., Bang. *sūcī*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *sūl*, Guj. *sōy*, Mar. *suī*, Gyp. *sur*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Caspian dialects *rū*, Kurd. *rō*, *rōž*, *ruž*, etc. (see § 159).

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*ch* = *ch*.

§ 172. It is only in the Indian dialects that *ch* occurs. Here, however, it is in general preserved unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. ✓*chap* 'go' (?), U<sub>r</sub>. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *chāpitē*, *cāpitē* 'to conceal,' *ṭēpitē*, Hindī *chāpanā*, *cāmpānā* 'to print, to squeeze,' *tōpanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *ṭhapanā*, *ṭīpanā* 'to bury,' Sindhī *chāpaṇu*, *cāpaṇu* 'to shampoo,' *ṭapaḍaṇu*, *ṭhapaṇu*, Mar. *chāpaṇēm*, *cāpaṭaṇēm*, *ṭap*, *ṭhapakā*, Anglo-Indian (*first*)*chop*, *shampoo*.

*ch* > *c*.

§ 173. The deaspirization of *ch* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. ✓*chap* 'go' (?), Bang. *cāpitē*, *chāpitē*, Hindī *cāmpānā*, *chāpanā*, Sindhī *cāpaṇu*, *chāpaṇu*, Mar. *cāpaṭaṇēm*, *chāpaṇēm*, etc. (see preceding §).

*ch* > *ṭ*.

§ 174. The change of *ch* to *ṭ* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. ✓*chap* 'go' (?), U<sub>r</sub>. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *ṭēpitē*, Hindī *ṭīpanā*, *ṭhapanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *tōpanā*, Sindhī *ṭapaḍaṇu*, *ṭhapaṇu*, Mar. *ṭap*, *ṭhapaṇu*, etc. (see § 172).

*ch* > *ṭh*.

§ 175. The change of *ch* to *ṭh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. ✓*chap* 'go' (?), Hindī *ṭhapanā*, *ṭīpanā*, *tō-*

*panā*, *tōpanā*, Sindhī *ṭhapaṇu*, *ṭapaṇu*, Mar. *ṭhapakā*, *ṭāp*, etc. (see § 172).

*ch* > *t*.

§ 176. The change of *ch* to *t* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *√chap* 'go,' Hindī *tōpanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *ṭīpanā*, *ṭhapanā*, etc. (see § 172).

*ch* > *s*.

§ 177. Many New Indian dialects, especially Assamese, Bangālī, and Marāṭhī, as well as the others in sporadic instances, pronounce or write *s* instead of *ch*.

a. Indian. Skt. *pr̥chati* 'asks,' Prāk. *pucchaṭṭi*, Pāli *pucchati*, Ur. *pūchanā*, *pacāra*, Bang. *puchitē*, Hindī *pūchanā*, Panj. *pucch*, Sindhī *puchāṇu*, Guj. *puchavum̐*, Mar. *pusaṇēm̐*.

With this change of *ch* to *s* may perhaps be compared the cases where Iranian *s* = Indian *ch*, e.g.

Skt. *chāyā* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāyā*, *chāā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā* 'shadow,' Ur. *chāhina*, Hindī *chām(v)*, *chānh*, *chāom̐*, Panj. *cā(ū)m̐*, Sindhī *chām(v)*, Guj. *cāmy* : Av. *asaya*, Phl. *sāyak*, New Pers. *sāyah*, Bal. *sāig*, N. Bal. *sāi*, Kurd. *sī*.

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*j* = *j*.

§ 178. Indo-Iranian *j* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jan̐gha* 'leg,' Prāk., Pāli *jan̐gha*, Nāip. *jān*, Bang. *jāngī*, E. Hindī, Hindī *jāng̐h*, Panj. *jā̐ng̐h*, Sindhī *jan̐gh*, *jan̐gh*, Guj., Mar. *jan̐ghā*, *jā̐ng̐h*, Gyp. *cang*. Skt. *bhrātr̥jāya* 'brother's wife,' Ur., Bang. *bhāūja*, Hindī *bhārij*, *bhāvaj*, *bhāujī*, *bhōjāī*, Sindhī *bhōjāī*, Mar. *bhāvajāī*. Skt. *bhrātr̥ja* 'nephew,' Hindī, Panj., Guj. *bhatijā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Gab. *jan*, *yan(āk)*, Sīv. *žin*, Zaf. *žan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *jan*, *jīn*, *yan*, *žan*, Nāy. *yanah*, Samn. *žanikō*, Šīyn. *yīn*, Sarq. *yīn*, *žīn*, Minj. *žinga*, Afy. *jīnaī*, *jūnaī*, *jal*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *žīn*, Zaza *jan*. Av. *jainti* 'kills,' Old Pers. *ajanam*, Phl. *zanēt*, New Pers.

*zanad*, Zaf. *bažint*, Kāš. *jidan*, Kuhr. *jindamūn*, Šiyn. *zīnam*, Sarq. *zanam*, Afγ. *žanam*, Bal. *janag*, Kurd. *zanin*. Old Pers. *bāji* 'tribute,' New Pers. *bāj*, *bāz*, *bāž*. Phl. *barējan* 'oven,' New Pers. *barējan*, Bal. *brijag*, *brējag*.

$j > gh, \gamma$ .

§ 179. The change of *j* to *gh*,  $\gamma$ , is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Šiyn. *γin*, Sarq. *γin*, *žin*, etc. (see preceding §).

$j > c$ .

§ 180. The change of the media *j* to the tenuis *c* is regular in Pāisācī Prākrit according to the well-known rule of this dialect that all mediae or mediae aspiratae become tenues or tenues aspiratae. Elsewhere the change is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, Pāis. Prāk. *rācā*, Pāli *rājā*, New Ind. dialects *rāū*, *rāv*, except Sinh. *rada*, Maladive *radung*, Gyp. *ray*. Skt. *vrajati* 'wanders,' Prāk. *vaccaī*, Pāli *vajati*. Skt. *kambōja* 'Cambodia,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *kambōca*.

$j > jh$ .

§ 181. The aspirization of an original *j* is a phenomenon of rare occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *jaṃgala* 'wild,' Old Hindī *jaṃgar*, New Ind. dialects *jaṃgalī*, except Ass. *jaṃghal*, Sindhī *jhaṃgalī*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *jana* 'person,' Bang. (Malda) *jhan*, Gyp. *jenō*.

$j > d$ .

§ 182. The change of *j* to *d* is not uncommon in the Middle Indian dialects, and it is the regular change to which an original *j* is subject in Sinhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jihā*, *jibbhā*, Pāli *jivhā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kāsm. *zōō*, New Ind. dialects *jibh* (Sindhī *jibh*), Sinh. *diva*, Maladive *dū*, Gyp. *cib*. Skt. *jugupsati*

‘despises,’ Prāk. *du(g)ucchaï*, *du(g)um̐chaï*, *jhuṇaï*, *juucchaï*, Pāli *jigucchati*. Skt. *tējas* ‘glory,’ Prāk. *tēu*, Māhār. Prāk. *tēya*, Pāli *tēja*, Sinh. *teda*.

*j > y*.

§ 183. The change of *j* to *y* is in the Indian dialects only an apparent one, *y* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *j* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164). In the Iranian dialects an actual change of *j* to *y* is found, but it is very uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* ‘king,’ Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, etc. (see § 180). Skt. *samaja* ‘herd,’ Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *samaya*. Skt. *gaja* ‘elephant,’ Prāk. *gaya*, *gaa*, Pāli *gaja*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* ‘woman,’ Gab. *yan(āḱ)*, *jan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *yan*, *jan*, *jin*, *zan*, Nāy. *yanah*, etc. (see § 178).

*j > v*.

§ 184. The change of *j* to *v*, like that of *j* to *y* in the Indian dialects, is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *j* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājānah* ‘of a king,’ Prāk. *rāāṇō*, Śāk. Prāk. *lāvāṇō* (cf. also § 180). [See now Pischel, §§ 399–400.]

*j > z*.

§ 185. In the Iranian dialects the change of *j* to *z* is very frequent. In the Indian dialects, however, it is only in the North East, particularly in Assamese, Kaśmīrī, vulgar Bangālī (Rājbañśī and Eastern), and Bihārī, that *j* is pronounced *z*.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* ‘tongue,’ Kaśm. *zēō*, etc. (see § 182). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *jala* ‘water,’ Ass., Kaśm., vulgar Bang., Bihārī *jal* (pron. *zal*), Sindhī *jaru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jvaiti* ‘lives,’ Old Pers. *jīvāhy*, Phl. *zīvas-tanō*, New Pers. *zīstan*, Kāš. *vazandō*, *jīya*, Afγ. *zvand(ūn)*,

Kurd. *zīn*, *zīin*. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, etc. (see § 178). Kurd. *vējār* 'this time,' Bohtanī *vēzār*. Av. *jafra* 'deep,' Phl. *zufar*, *zaf̄r*, New Pers. *zarf*, Judaeo-Pers. *zōrf*, Afy. *žavar*, Bal. *juhl*, N. Bal. *jahl*, Kurd. *žōr*, Zaza *jōr*.

$j > \check{z}$ .

§ 186. The change of *j* to *ž*, which is closely akin to the one discussed in the preceding paragraph, is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Sīv. *žin*, Zaf. *žan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *žan*, *jan*, *jin*, *yan*, Samn. *žanikō*, Sarq. *žin*, *γīn*, Minj. *žinga*, Kurd. *žin*, etc. (see § 178). Av. *jvaiti* 'lives,' Afy. *žvand(ūn)*, Kurd. *žīin*, *zīn*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *jafra* 'deep,' New Pers. *zarf*, Afy. *žavar*, Kurd. *žōr*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *drājah* 'length,' Phl., Bal. *drāj*, N. Bal. *drāž*, Kurd. *dirīž*.

*Syncope of j.*

§ 187. The loss of an original intervocalic *j* is found occasionally in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, New Ind. dialects *rāū*, *rāv*, etc. (see § 180). Skt. *vyajana* 'fan,' Prāk. *viana*, Hindī *bēnā*. Skt., Pāli *ajagara* 'boa-constrictor,' Mar. *ār*.

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$jh = jh$ .

§ 188. Original *jh* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects, and it is lacking altogether in the Iranian languages. In the majority of instances in the Indian dialects original *jh* is preserved unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. *jhampa* 'leap,' Mar. *jhēmp*.

$jh > j$ .

§ 189. The deaspirization of *jh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jhalla* 'name of a degraded caste,' Jaina Prāk. *jalla*.

*jh* > *z*.

§ 190. In Assamese an original *jh* is written *j*, which is pronounced *z* (cf. § 185). Similarly the resultant *jh* of the Kaśmīrī is pronounced *z*.

a. Indian. Ass. *jāl* 'pungeney' (pron. *zal*), Bang. *jhaluyā*, Hindī *jhāl*.

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*ṭ* = *t̤*.

§ 191. All cases in which cerebral letters are concerned are confined to the Indian dialects. Indian *ṭ* is preserved unchanged in the great majority of instances.

a. Indian. Skt. *truṭati* 'comes apart,' Prāk. *tuttaṭi*, *tōḍaṭi*, Uṛ. *tōḍanā*, Bang. *tōḍāṭē*, Sindhī *tōḍanu*, Guj. *tuṭavun̄*, *tōḍavun̄*, Mar. *tuṭaṇēm̄*, *tōḍaṇēm̄*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Prāk. *kapāṭa*, Uṛ., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*. Skt. *√c(h)uṭ* 'to cut off,' New Ind. dialects *√chuṭ*, but also Hindī *chōṛ*, Mar. *suṭ*, *sōḍ*.

*ṭ* > *ḍ*.

§ 192. The change of the tenuis *ṭ* to the media *ḍ* is the most frequent one to which Indian *ṭ* is subject. In the East New Indian dialects *ḍ* often interchanges with *r* and this *r* itself may further develop into *x*. No distinction is here made between *ḍ* and *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṭavī* 'forest,' Apab. Prāk. *aḍaṭi*, Pāli *aṭavī*. Skt. *bhaṭa* 'soldier,' Prāk. *bhaḍa*, Apab. *bhaḍu*, Pāli *bhaṭa*. Skt. *ghaṭa* 'jar,' Prāk. *ghaḍa*, Pāli *ghaṭa*, Hindī *ghaḍā*, other New Ind. dialects *ghaḍī*. Skt. *kīṭa* 'worm,' Prāk. *kīḍa*, Pāli *kīṭa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *kīḍā*, Sindhī *kīḍō*, Guj. *kīḍō*, Mar. *kīḍ*, *kīḍā*, Gyp. *kirī*. Skt., Pāli *kaṭāha* 'pan,' Uṛ. *karaṭi*, *kahrāṭi*, *kaḍhēi*, Bang. *kaḍ(āi)*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kaḍāhī*, Guj. *kaḍhā*, *kaḍhāi*, Sinh. *kulāva*.

*ṭ* > *ḍh*.

§ 193. The rare change of *ṭ* to *ḍh* seems to occur more often in the Middle than in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saṭā* 'mane,' Prāk. *saḍhā*. Skt. *śakaṭikā*



‘cart,’ Prāk. *sayadhā*, Śāur. Prāk. *saadīā*, Pāli *sakaṭa*. Skt. *kāiṭabha* ‘name of a demon,’ Prāk. *kēḍhava*. Skt. *akṣapāṭa* ‘arena,’ E. Hindī *akhārḥ*, Hindī *akhārā*, Mar. *akhāḍā*.

$\dot{t} > t$ .

§ 194. The decerebralization of Indian  $\dot{t}$  to  $t$  occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭumbaka* ‘house-holder,’ Pāli. Prāk. *kutumbaka*, *kuṭumbaka*, Pāli *kuṭumbaka*, *kuṭimbaka*.

$\dot{t} > p$ .

§ 195. The change of  $\dot{t}$  to  $p$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *karōṭi* ‘pot,’ Pāli *kaḷōpi*.

$\dot{t} > r$ .

§ 196. The change of  $\dot{t}$  to  $r$  (cf. § 192) is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṭāha* ‘pan,’ Ur. *karaī*, *kahrārī*, *kaḍhēi*, etc. (see § 192). Skt. *cēṭa* ‘servant,’ Panj. *cērā*, *cēlā*, etc. (see following §).

$\dot{t} > l$ .

§ 197. The change of  $\dot{t}$  to  $l$  is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphaṭika* ‘crystal,’ Prāk. *phalika*, *phaḍiḥa*, *phaḍia*, Pāli *phalika*. Skt. *karkaṭaka* ‘crab,’ Jaina Prāk. *kakkaḍa*, Pāli *kakkaṭaka*, Sinh. *kakuluvā*, *kakuluvū*. Skt. *kaṭāha* ‘pan,’ Sinh. *kulāva*, etc. (see § 192). Skt. *cēṭa* ‘servant,’ Prāk. *cēḍa*, Pāli *cēṭaka*, Ur., Bang. *cēlā*, Hindī *cēlā*, *cēḍā*, Panj. *cēlā*, *cērā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cēlō*, Mar. *cēlā*.

$\dot{t} > \underline{l}$ .

§ 198. The change of  $\dot{t}$  to  $\underline{l}$  occurs especially in Sinhalese, where  $l$  and  $\underline{l}$  are used indiscriminately, although the Maladive distinguishes sharply between  $l$  and  $\underline{l}$ .

a. Indian. Skt. *kūṭa* ‘peak,’ Prāk. *kūḍa*, Pāli *kūṭa*, Sinh. *kulū*. Skt. *sphoṭati* ‘bursts forth,’ Prāk. *phuṭṭaī*, *phuḍaī*, Pāli

*phuṭati*, Hindī *phūṭ*, Panj. *phutt*, other New Ind. dialects *phuṭ*, except Simh. *polanavā*.

*ṭh* = *th*.

§ 199. The retention of *ṭh* without change is very rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *maṭha* 'college,' Prāk. *maḍha*, Mar. (dimin.) *maḍhī*, other New Ind. dialects *maṭh*.

*ṭh* > *ṭ*.

§ 200. The deaspirization of *ṭh* is very rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhārī* 'axe,' Prāk. *kuḍhāra*, Pāli *kuṭhārī*, Ur. *kuṭārī*, *kuhrari*, *kuṭāḍī*, Bang. *kuṭhād*, *kuṭhāḍī*, Bihārī, Hindī *kulhārī*, *kuhāḍā*, Panj. *kuhāḍā*, *kunilhārā*, *kulhāḍā*, Sindhī, Guj. *kuhārō*, Mar. *kurhār*, *kurhār*.

*ṭh* > *ḍ*.

§ 201. The change of *ṭh* to *ḍ* is found occasionally in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīṭha* 'pedestal,' Prāk. *pīḍha*, *pēḍha*, Pāli *pīṭha*, Bang. *pimḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *pīḍhā*, Sindhī *pēḍahī*, Guj. *pēḍhī*, Mar. *pāṭ*. Skt. *paṭhana* 'reading,' Ur. *paḍhibā*, Bang. *paḍhitē*, Hindī, Panj. *paḍhanā*, Sindhī *paḍhaṇu*, Guj. *paḍhavun*, Mar. *paḍhanēm*.

*ṭh* > *ḍh*.

§ 202. The change of *ṭh* to *ḍh* is the most common one of all those to which Indian *ṭh* is subject. It is especially characteristic of the Western dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīṭha* 'pedestal,' Prāk. *pīḍha*, *pēḍha*, Hindī, Panj. *pīḍhā*, Guj. *pēḍhī*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kuṭhārī* 'axe,' Prāk. *kuḍhāra*, Bang. *kuṭhād*, *kuṭhāḍī*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *paṭhati* 'reads,' Prāk. *paḍhai*, Pāli *paṭhati*, Ass. ✓ *parh*, Bang. *par*, New Ind. dialects *paḍh*, *parh*, E. New Ind. dialects also *parh*.

*ṭh > ṛh, rh.*

§ 203. The change of *ṭh* to *ṛh, rh*, is especially characteristic of the Eastern dialects, while the Western dialects, as noted in the preceding paragraph, tend to the change of *ṭh* to *ḍh*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Bang. *kuṛhād*, *kuṛhādī*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *paṭhati* 'reads,' New Ind. dialects *parh*, *paḍh*, E. New Ind. dialects also *parh*, etc. (see preceding §).

*ṭh > ll.*

§ 204. The change of *ṭh* to *ll* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *anṣkōṭha*, *anṣkōl(l)a* 'name of a tree,' Prāk. *anṣkolla*, Pāli *anṣkōla*, Guj., Mar. *anṣkōl*.

*ṭh > lh.*

§ 205. The change of *ṭh* to *lh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Bihārī, Hindī *kulhārī*, *kuhādī*, Panj. *kulhādā*, *kumlhārā*, *kuhādā*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *kuṭhara* 'sugar-mill,' Māg. Prāk. *kuḍhalē*, Bihārī *kōlhā*.

*ṭh > h.*

§ 206. The change of *ṭh* to *h* is one of extreme rarity in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Bihārī, Hindī *kuhādā*, *kulhārī*, Panj. *kuhādā*, *kulhādā*, *kumlhārā*, Sindhī, Guj. *kuhārō*, etc. (see § 200).

*ṭh > hr.*

§ 207. The change of *ṭh* to *hr* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Uṛ. *kuhrāri*, *kuṭādī*, *kuṭārī*, etc. (see § 200).

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*ḍ = ḍ.*

§ 208. Indian *ḍ* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīḍana* 'pressure,' Prāk. *pīḷaṇa*, *pellāṇa*, Pāli *pīḷana*, Hindī *pēḍanā*, *pēlanā*, Panj. *pīḍhanā*, *pēlanā*, *vēlanā*, Sindhī *pīḍaṇu*, *pīraṇu*, Mar. *pīḷaṇēm*.

$\dot{d} > \dot{t}$ .

§ 209. The change of  $\dot{d}$  to  $\dot{t}$  occurs regularly in the Pāisācī Prākṛit.

a. Indian. Skt. *vaḍiṣa*, *baḍiṣa* 'fish-hook,' Prāk. *baḷiṣa*, *balisa*, Pāś. Prāk. *vaṭiṣa*, Pāli *balisa*, Hindī *balia*.

$\dot{d} > d$ .

§ 210. The decerebralization of Indian  $\dot{d}$  occurs very rarely in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt.  $\sqrt{\text{dāp}}$  'to collect,' Ur. *dabibā*, Bang. *dābana*, Hindī *dābanā*, *dabāv*, *dabēl*, Panj. *dabbaṇā*, Sindhī *dabaṇu*, Guj. *dābavun*, Mar. *dabaṇēm*.

$\dot{d} > \dot{r}$ ,  $r$ .

§ 211. The change of  $\dot{d}$  to  $\dot{r}$ ,  $r$ , is particularly characteristic of the East New Indian dialects. Such an  $r$  developed from an original  $\dot{d}$  may often become  $r$ , and indeed in Hindī  $\dot{r}$  and  $r$  are interchangeable. In the West New Indian dialects, however,  $\dot{d}$  is generally retained unchanged, and it seldom becomes  $\dot{r}$ ,  $r$  (cf. §§ 202, 203).

a. Indian. Skt. *pṛḍana* 'pressure,' Sindhī *pṛṇaṇu*, *pṛḍaṇu*, etc. (see § 208). Skt. *uḍupa* 'boat,' Pāli *uḷumpa*, Sinh. *oru(va)*, Maladive *oḍi*.

$\dot{d} > l$ .

§ 212. The change of  $\dot{d}$  to  $l$  is one of the most frequent of all those to which Indian  $\dot{d}$  is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *dāḍima*, *dālima*, Prāk. *ḍālima*, Pāli *dālima*, Hindī *dārīm*, Sindhī *ḍārḥūm*. Skt. *krīḍati* 'plays,' Prāk. *kīlāi*, Apab. Prāk. *kīladi*, Pāli *kīlati*. Skt. *ṣōḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōḷaha*, Jaina Prāk. *sōḷasa*, Pāli *sōḷasa*, *sōraha*, Kaśm. *surāh*, Ur. *sōhala*, Bang. *ṣōla*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindī *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhī *sōrahaṁ*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*.

$\dot{d} > l$ .

§ 213. The change of  $\dot{d}$  to  $l$ , which is closely akin to the change discussed in the preceding paragraph, occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīḍana* 'pressure,' Mar. *pīlaṇēṃ*, etc. (see § 208). Skt. *uḷupa* 'boat,' Pāli *uḷumpa*, etc. (see § 211). Skt. *krōḍaka* 'lap,' Apab. Prāk. *kōlaiṃ*, Guj. *kōlō*. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *soḷaha*, Jaina Prāk. *soḷasa*, Pāli *sōḷasa*, Panj. *sōḷam*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*, etc. (see preceding §).

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$\underline{dh} > \underline{r}h$ .

§ 214. The change of  $\underline{dh}$  to  $\underline{r}h$  is quite common in the New Indian dialects, especially in the Eastern languages (cf. §§ 202, 203, 211).

a. Indian. Skt. *mūḍha* 'fool,' New Ind. dialects (except Bang., Mar.) *mūrhu*.

$\underline{dh} > r$ .

§ 215. The change of  $\underline{dh}$  to  $r$  occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *mūḍhatva* 'folly,' Prāk. *mūḍhattaṇa*, Hindī *mūrakhapan*, Panj. *mūrakhapṇā*.

$\underline{dh} > l, \underline{lh}$ .

§ 216. The change of  $\underline{dh}$  to  $l, \underline{lh}$ , is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *udvōḍha* 'bridegroom,' Bang. *dulīn*, *dulāi*, Hindī *dulhā*. Skt. *udūḍhā* 'bride,' Hindī *dulhin*, Guj. *dulāhī*.

$\underline{dh} > \underline{l}, \underline{lh}$ .

§ 217. The change of  $\underline{dh}$  to  $\underline{l}, \underline{lh}$ , is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dr̥ḍha* 'firm,' Prāk. *daḍha*, Pāli *dalha*, Sinh. *daḷa*.

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$\underline{n} > n$ .

§ 218. The change of  $\underline{n}$  to  $n$  is not frequent in the Indian dialects, excepting in the Pāisācī Prākrit, where it occurs regularly.

a. Indian. Skt. *guṇaganayukta* 'equipped with a host of virtues,' Pāis. Prāk. *gunaganajutta*. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *b(r)amana*, lit. Prāk. *bāmhaṇa*, Māhār. Prāk. *bambhaṇa*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*.

$\underline{n} > \underline{l}, \underline{l}$ .

§ 219. The change of  $\underline{n}$  to  $\underline{l}, \underline{l}$ , is excessively rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāṇija* 'merchant,' Prāk. *vāṇi(j)a*, Siñh. *velaṇḍā*, *veṇaṇḍa*.

$t = t$ .

§ 220. Indo-Iranian *t* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting for the Iranian spirantization of *t* to *θ* before consonants.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *tuṇḍa* 'snout,' Bihārī *ṭhōṁth*, *ṭhōr*, Hindī, Panj. *tōṁḍ*, Guj. *duṇḍ*, Mar. *tōṁḍā*, *tuṇḍ*, *tund*, *dōṁḍ*. Skt. *jyōti* 'light,' Pāli *jōti*, Hindī *jōt(i)*, Panj. *jōtanā*, Sindhī *jōt(i)*, Guj. *jōt*. Skt. *ṛtu* 'season,' Prāk. *udu* (Śāur. and Māg.), *uu*, *riu*, Pāli *utu*, Sindhī *rutī*, Guj. *rut(u)*, Mar. *rutā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *rautah* 'river,' Phl. *rōt*, New Pers. *rōd*, Bal. *rōt*, Kurd. *rō*. Av. *tanu* 'body,' Phl., New Pers. *tan*, Wāxī *tan*, Šiyn. *tana*, Afy. *tan*, Oss. *thanag*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Gab. *tašna*, Wāxī *tax(i)*, Šiyn. *tašna*, Sarq. *tür(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tažai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thun*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*. Av. *paitidita* 'seen,' Phl. *dītō*, New Pers. *dīdah*, Bal. *dīta*, Kurd. *dīt*.

$t > i$ .

§ 221. The vocalization of Indo-Iranian *t* is very rare. The stages in this development were probably *t* to *d*, to *ð*, to *i*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kata* 'house,' Phl. *kaṭak*, New Pers. *kadah*, Zaf. *kī*, Kāš. *kiyah*, Vōn. *kē*, Kuhr. *kiyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Wāxī *kat*, Šiyn. *čīd*, Sarq. *cēd*, Minj. *kai*, Yidg. *kyē*, Yayn. *kat*. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *brātar*, *brāt*, New Pers. *birādar*, Kāš. *barāi*, *barō*, Gil. *brār*, Wāxī *vrūt*, Šiyn. *virūd*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurd*, Yidg. *vrai*, Yayn. *virāt*, Afy. *vrōr*, Bal. *brāt*, N. Bal. *brās*, *brāθ*, Kurd. *barā*, *virūd*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Wāxī *vīst*, Sarq. *vīst*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaj*.

$t > g$ .

§ 222. The change of *t* to *g* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātaraš* 'fire,' Phl. *ātaš*, New Pers. (*ā*)*taš*, *ātiš*,



Gab. *taš*, Šiyn. *yāč*, Sarq. *yuč*, N. Bal. *āc*, Kurd. *agir*, *ār*, *ēr*, Zaza *adir*.

*t > c*.

§ 223. The change of *t* to *c* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tiṣṭhati* 'stands,' Prāk. *ciṭṭhadi*, *ciṭṭhai*, *ṭhāi* (cf. also *ciṭṭitu* 'let him stand,' inscriptions of Dhauli), Pāli *tiṭṭhati*, *ṭhāti*, U<sub>r</sub>. *cidā*, *thāē*, Hindī, Panj. *thē*, Sindhī *thiē*, Guj. *thāy*, Mar. *thēṇēm*.

[Here we may perhaps note the change of *t* to *č* in Kaśmīrī under the influence of a following *i* in the formation of the feminine, e.g., Kaśm. *mot* 'foolish,' fem. *müč* < \**moti*.]

*t > ṭ*.

§ 224. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *t* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects. It is especially common in Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *tilaka* 'sectarial mark,' U<sub>r</sub>., Bang. *ṭīka*, Hindī *ṭikā*, Panj. *ṭikkā*, Sindhī *ṭikō*, Guj. *ṭilu*, *ṭilī*, *ṭilō*, Mar. *ṭikā*, *ṭilā*. Skt. *prati* 'toward,' Prāk. *paṭi*, *paḍi*, Pāli *paṭi*. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Prāk. *tamba*, *tambira*, Ass. *tām*, Kaśm. *trām*, U<sub>r</sub>., Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *tāmbā*, *tāmā*, Sindhī *ṭāmō*, Guj. *tāmbu*, *trāmbuṃ*, Mar. *tāmbēm*, Simh. *tāmbara*.

*t > ṭh*.

§ 225. The change of *t* to *ṭh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tuṇḍa* 'snout,' Bihārī *ṭhōṃṭh*, *ṭhōr*, etc. (see § 220). Skt. *vṛtti* 'business,' Prāk. *vattī*, Sindhī *vaṭhi*.

*t > ḍ*.

§ 226. The change of *t* to *ḍ* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, being much more common than the change of *t* to *ṭ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *patati* 'falls,' Prāk. *paḍaī*, Pāli *patati*, U<sub>r</sub>. *paḍikā*, Bang. *paḍaṇā*, Hindī *paṛanā*, Sindhī *pavaṇu*, Guj. *paḍavūṃ*, Mar. *paḍaṇēm*, *paṛaṇēm*, Gyp. ✓ *per*. Skt. *patākā* 'banner,' Prāk. *paḍāyā*, Jaina Prāk. *paḍāgā*, Pāli *patākā*. Skt. *takṣan* 'carpenter,' Sindhī *ḍakhaṇu*.

$t > th, \theta$ .

§ 227. The change of  $t$  to  $th, \theta$ , is rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, apart from the change of  $t$  to  $\theta$  according to the Iranian law of spirantization and excepting  $th$  developed from  $t$  in North Balūcī and Ossetish.

a. Indian. Skt. *trpyati* 'rejoices,' Prāk. *thippiāi*. Skt. *āpāta* 'path,' Pāli *āpātha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tāpayēiti* 'warms,' Phl. *tāftanō*, New Pers. *tābad*, Gab. *tō*, Kāš. *tōrūn*, Wāxī *θavam*, Šiyn. *tabam*, Sarq. *θavam*, Afy. *taba*, Bal. *tap*, N. Bal. *thap*, *thaf*, Kurd. *tāv*, Dig. Oss. *thaft*, Tag. *thavin*. Av. *torəsaiti* 'fears,' Phl. *tarsītanō*, New Pers. *tarsūdan*, Afy. *tarhēdal*, Bal. *tursay*, *trusay*, N. Bal. *thursay*, Kurd. *tirsin*, Dig. Oss. *tharsun*, Tag. *tharsin*. Av., Old Pers. *dāta* 'law,' Phl. *dāt*, New Pers. *dād*, Bal. *dāta*, N. Bal. *dātha*, *dāsā*. Av. *brātar* 'brother,' N. Bal. *brāθ*, *brās*, etc. (see § 221).

$t > d$ .

§ 228. The change of the tenuis  $t$  to the media  $d$  is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tataḥ* 'thence,' Māhār. Prāk. *tattō*, Śāur. Prāk. *tadō*, Apab. Prāk. *daü*, Pāli *tatō*. Skt. *tāvat* 'so long,' Śāur. Prāk. *dāva*, Pāli *tāva*. Skt. *gata* 'gone,' Śāur., Māg. Prāk. *gaḍē*, Pāis. Prāk. *gata*, Apab. Prāk. *gaḍu*, Pāli *gata*, Siñh. *giya*, Gyp. *gelo*. Skt. *kṛta* 'done,' Māg. Prāk. *kadē*, *kaḍē*, Ardhamāg., Avant., Śākārī Prāk. *kala*, Pāis. Prāk. *kata*, Apab. Prāk. *kiḍu*, Pāli *kata*, *kaṭa*, Old Hindī *kīya*, Bihārī *kaīl*, *kāil*, *kayal*, Sindhī *kiō*. Skt. *uta* 'or,' Prāk. *ua*, Pāli *uda*. Skt. *tē* 'of thee,' Prāk. *dē*, *tē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *rad*, Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vön., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *rad*, Māz. *vā*, Tāt *vār*, Afy. *vō*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *gvās*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, Oss. *vūd*. Av. *brātar* 'brother,' New Pers. *birādar*, Šiyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurd*, Kurd. *virād*, *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*, etc. (see § 221). Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl.

*vēt*, New Pers. *bēd*, Gab. *vīd*, Sīv. *vī*, Zaf. *vē*, Vön. *vīd*, Kuhr. *vēt*, Afy. *vala*, Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *vī*, *bī*. Av. *tava* 'of thee,' New Pers. *tū*, Afy. *ta*, Kurd. *tu*, Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dī*.

*t > y*.

§ 229. The change of *t* to *y* in the Indo-Iranian dialects is only an apparent one, *y* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an intervocalic *t* (see §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183).

a. Indian. Skt. *itara* 'other,' Prāk. *iara*, Māhār. Prāk. *iyara*. Skt. *kātara* 'coward,' Apab. Prāk. *kāyaru*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Guj. *kāyar*, Mar. *kāvarā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Phl. *māt(ar)*, New Pers. *mādar*, Gab., Sīv. *māya*, Kāš. *māi*, *mōya*, Vön. *mōa*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gil. *māar*, *mōr*, Tāl. *mā*, Tāt *mōi*, Šīyn. *mad*, Minj. *māyā*. Av., Old Pers. *pitar* 'father,' Phl. *piṭ(ar)*, New Pers. *pidar*, Gab. *par*, Kāš. *pai*, Nāy. *pī*, *payi*, Šīyn. *pad*, Sarq. *pit*, Afy. *plār*, Bal. *pit*, N. Bal. *phis*, *phiθ*, Dig. Oss. *fida*, Tag. *fid*.

*t > r*.

§ 230. The change of *t* to *r* (in the Indian dialects through the transition-grades *ḍ*, *ḍ̌*, *ṛ*) is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptati* 'seventy,' Prāk., Pālī *sattari*, Nāip. *sattari*, Kāśm. *satat*, Uṛ. *sattōri*, Bang., Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *sattar*, Sindhī *satari*, Guj. *siṭer*, Mar. *sattar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Tāt *vār*, etc. (see § 228).

*t > l*.

§ 231. The change of *t* to *l* is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects, excepting in Afyān, where *t* regularly becomes *l*, unless the *t* is protected by a voiceless consonant.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛta* 'done,' Ardhamāg., Avant., Śākārī Prāk. *kala*, Bihārī *kāil*, *kāil*, *kayal* (similarly in all perf. part. in Bihārī), etc. (see § 228).

b. Iranian. Av. *pitar* 'father,' Afy. *plār*, etc. (see § 229). Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Afy. *vala*, etc. (see § 228).

$t > v$ .

§ 232. The change of  $t$  to  $v$  is only apparent,  $v$  being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic  $t$  (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātapa* 'sunshine,' Pāli *ātāpa*, Sinh. *av(u)va*. Skt. *mātar* 'mother,' Prāk. *māā*, Pāli *mātar*, Hindī *mā(ī)*, *māū*, Panj. *māū*, *māūm*, *mānu*, *mā(ī)*, Sindhī *māū*, Eḷu *mava*, Sinh. *mar(u)*, *mā*.

$t > s$ .

§ 233. The change of  $t$  to  $s$  is excessively rare, excepting in Sinhalese and North Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt. *tuccha* 'empty,' Prāk. *c(h)uccha*, Pāli *tuccha*, Sinh. *sis*, *his*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dāta* 'law,' N. Bal. *dāsā*, *dāθa*, etc. (see § 227). Av. *brātar* 'brother,' N. Bal. *brās*, *brāθ*, etc. (see § 221).

$t > h$ .

§ 234. The change of  $t$  to  $h$  is very rare, excepting in Sinhalese, where the  $h$  is a further development of the  $s$  arising from an original  $t$  (see preceding §).

a. Indian. Skt. *tuccha* 'empty,' Prāk. *c(h)uccha*, Pāli *tuccha*, Sinh. *his*, *sis*.

### *Syncope of t.*

§ 235. The loss of Indo-Iranian  $t$  is quite frequent both in the Middle and in the New periods of the Indo-Iranian languages. The syncope occurs more often in the Middle than in the New Indian dialects, and more commonly in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *caūttha*, *caūtt̥ha*, *cottha*, Uṛ. *cāuḍha*, Bang. *cāuḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāunthā*. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *saa*, *saya*, Pāis. Prāk. *sata*, Pāli *sata*, Kāsm. *hath*, Uṛ. *śaṁ*, Bang.

*śaya*, Bihārī *sāu*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhī *sāu*, Guj. *śō*, Mar. *śēm*, *śambhar*. Skt. *pitar* 'father,' Prāk. *piā*, Pāli *pitar*, Hindī *piu*, Panj. *piū*, Sindhī *piu*, Sinh. *piya*. Skt. *mātar* 'mother,' Prāk. *māā*, Hindī *mā(ī)*, *māū*, Panj. *māū*, *māūm*, *māūmu*, *mā(ī)*, Sindhī *māū*, Sinh. *mā*, *mar(u)*, etc. (see § 232).

b. Iranian. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Kāš. *māi*, *mōya*, Vōn. *mōa*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gil. *māar*, *mōr*, Tāl. *mū*, Tāt *mōi*, etc. (see § 229). Skt. *jūta* 'swift,' Phl. *zūt*, New Pers. *zūd*, Māz. *zī*, Tāl., Tāt *zū*, Bal. *zūt*, *zīt*, N. Bal. *zīθ*, Kurd. *zū*. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Siv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Māz. *vā*, Afy. *vō*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, etc. (see § 228).

### *Epenthesis of t.*

§ 236. Epenthetic *t* is an extremely rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōšā*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. (*h*)*isttir*, *asr*.

$$th = th.$$

§ 237. Indo-Iranian *th* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *mathana* 'churning,' Bang. *mathana*, *māthā*, Hindī *mathanā*, *mahanā*, *maṭhā*, Sindhī *mathaṇu*, Guj. *matharum*, *maṭhō*, Mar. *ma(n)thaṇēm*, *māthan*. Skt. *yūtha* 'herd,' Māhār. Prāk. *jūha*, Pāli *yūtha*, Hindī *jūth*, *jathā*, Panj. *jūh*, Guj. *jathō*, Mar. *jathaṇēm*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Phl. *pahan*, New Pers. *pahn*, Kāš. *pēn*, *pahan*, *pan*, Afy. *plan*, Bal. *patan*, Kurd. *pān*, Oss. *fathan*. Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, Kāš. *gūs*, Wāxī *gū*, *gī*, Šīyn. *γaθ*, Yaγn. *γūt(ah)*, Afy. *γul*, N. Bal. *gīθ*, Kurd. *gū*. Av. *fraθanjayeiti* 'harnesses,' New Pers. *tanjīdan*, Bal. *tajēnag*, Dig. Oss. *ithinjun*, Tag. *thinjin*.

$$th > \dagger th.$$

§ 238. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *th* occurs rarely in the Indian dialects.



a. Indian. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Prāk. *paḍhama*, Pāli *paṭhama*, Ass. *pōnar*, Nāip. *pahilō*, Bihārī *pahil*, *pahēl*, Hindi, Panj. *pahilā*, Sindhī *paharyōm*, *pihir(y)ōm*, *paherya*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, *pēhalum*, Mar. *pahilā*, Sindh. *paḷamu*.

*th > ḍh.*

§ 239. The change of *th* to *ḍh* is more frequent in the Indian dialects than the simple cerebralization of an original *th*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śīthila* 'slack,' Prāk. *siḍhila*, Pāli *sithila*, *saṭhila*, Ur. *ḍhīlā*, Bang. *ḍhīlā*, Hindi *dhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhillā*, Sindhī *ḍhilō*, *ḍhirō*, Guj. *ḍhīlum*, Mar. *ḍhīlā*. Skt. *mēṭhi* 'post,' Prāk. *mēḍhi*, Mar. *mēḍhī*, *mēdhā*.

*th > t.*

§ 240. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *th* is excessively rare, except in Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *kathā* 'tale,' Bang. (Burdwan) *katā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *fraθanjayeiti* 'harnesses,' New Pers. *tanjīdan*, Bal. *tajēnag*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *maēθana* 'abode,' Phl., New Pers. *mēhan*, Bal. *mētag*.

*th > ḍh.*

§ 241. The change of *th* to *ḍh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *atha* 'thus,' Śāur., Pāis. Prāk. *adha*, Pāli *atha*. Skt. *tathā* 'so,' Śāur. Prāk. *tadhā*, Pāli *tathā*. Skt. *vyathayati* 'trembles,' Pāli *vēdhati*.

*th > y.*

§ 242. The insertion of *y* to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original intervocalic *th* is exceedingly rare (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183, 229).

a. Indian. Skt. *ratha* 'cart,' Apab. Prāk. *rahu*, Pāli *ratha*, Sindh. *riya*.



*th* > *l*.

§ 243. The change of *th* to *l* is excessively rare, excepting in Afyān.

b. Iranian. Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Afy. *plan*, etc. (see § 237).  
Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Afy. *γul*, etc. (see § 237).

*th* > *l̥*.

§ 244. The change of *th* to *l̥* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Sinh. *paḷamu*, etc. (see § 238).

*th* > *h*.

§ 245. The change of *th* to *h* is by far the most frequent one of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *th* is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *athavā* 'or,' Prāk. *ahavā*, Apab. *ahavaī*, inscriptions of Girnar, Dhauli, and Khālsi *ahō*, Pāli *athavā*. Skt. *ratha* 'cart,' Apab. Prāk. *rahu*, etc. (see § 242). Skt. *kathana* 'speech,' Prāk. *kahaṇa*, Pāli *kathana*, Uṛ. *kahibā*, Bang. *kahitē*, Hindī *kahanā*, Panj. *kahinā*, Sindhī *kahanu*, Guj. *kēharuṃ*. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Nāip. *pahilō*, Bihārī *pahil*, *pahēl*, Hindī, Panj. *pahilā*, Sindhī *paharyōm*, *pihīr(y)ōm*, *paherya*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, *pēhaluṃ*, Mar. *pahilā*, etc. (see § 238). Skt. *gāthā* 'song,' Prāk. *gāhā*, Pāli *gāthā*, Old Hindī *gāhā*, Sindhī *gāi*. Skt. *pṛth(i)vī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puhavī*, *puhuvī*, *puḍhavī*, Pāli *pathavī*, *puthavī*, *puthuvī*, *paṭhavī*, Old Hindī *puhumī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maēθana* 'abode,' Phl., New Pers. *mēhan*, etc. (see § 240). Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Phl. *pahan*, New Pers. *pahn*, Kāš. *pahan*, *pan*, *pēn*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gaēθanqm* 'of creatures,' Phl., New Pers. *gēhān*.

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*d* = *d̥*.

§ 246. Indo-Iranian *d̥* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *daśa* 'ten,' Prāk. *dasa*, Śāur. Prāk. *daha*,

Pāli *dasa*, Kāśm. *daka*, Ur., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *das*, Panj. *das*, *dah*, Sindhī *ḍah*, Guj. *das*, Mar. *dahū*. Skt. *daśati* 'bites,' Pāli *dasati*, Ur. *ḍamkibā*, *ḍamś*, Bang. *ḍamś*, *ḍamś(ā)*, Hindī *ḍamś(ak)*, *ḍāmik*, Sindhī *ḍamgaṇu*, Mar. *ḍamś*, *ḍāmcaṇēm*, *ḍamkhaṇēm*, *ḍasaṇēm*. Skt. *yadi* 'if,' Prāk. *jaī*, Jaina Prāk. *jati*, Pāli *yadi*, Hindī *jad*, *jē*, *jō*, Panj., Sindhī *jē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēman* 'face,' Phl. *andēmankar*, Pāz. *andī-mānī*, New Pers. *dīm*, Šīr., Zaf., Kāš. *dīm*, Kuhr. *dīm*, *dūm*, Afγ. *lēma*. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Wāxī *dūndūk*, Šīyn., Sarq. *ḍandān*, Minj. *land*, Bal. *dantūn*, N. Bal. *dathān*, *dhanthān*, Kurd. *didān*, Oss. *dandag*. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāi*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Wāxī *pūḍ*, Šīyn. *pāḍ*, Sarq. *paḍ*, Sangl. *puḍ*, Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Yayn. *puda*, Afγ. *pal*, Bal. *pāḍ*, N. Bal. *phāḍ*, *phāz*, Zaza *pai*.

*d* > *i*.

§ 247. The vocalization of Indo-Iranian *d* through the transition-grade *ḍ* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāi*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Zaza *pai*, etc. (see preceding §).

*d* > *kh*, *x*.

§ 248. The change of *d* to *kh*, *x*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Iran. \**ni* + √*dub* 'to hide,' New Pers. *nihuftan*, Kurd. *nixiftin* (very doubtful).

*d* > *g*.

§ 249. The change of *d* to *g* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dadrūghna* 'good for leprosy,' Pāli *gaddūhana* (the change of *d* to *g* in this word is due to dissimilation from the second *d* and assimilation to the following *gh*).

*d* > *jh*.

§ 250. The change of *d* to *jh* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prāk. *dhī(y)ā*, Śāur. Prāk.

*dhūdā*, *dhīdā*, Pāli *dhītā*, *dhītara*, Ass. *jī*, Ur. *jhia*, Bang. *jhī*, Hindī, Panj. *dhī(yā)*, Sindhī *dhiu*, *dhiy*, Guj. *dhī(yā)*.

$\bar{d} > \bar{d}$ .

§ 251. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian  $\bar{d}$  is found quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ḍahati* 'burns,' Prāk. *ḍahaṭ*, Pāli *ḍahati*, Hindī *ḍah*, *dāh*, Sindhī *ḍah*. Skt. *\*hṛdaka* 'hearty,' Māg. Prāk. *haḍakka*. Skt. *dūta* 'messenger,' Jāina Prāk. *ḍāya*, Pāli *dūta*. Skt. *daśati* 'bites,' Bang. *ḍamś(ā)*, *damś*, Hindī *ḍāṁik*, *damś(ak)*, Sindhī *ḍamgaṇu*, Mar. *ḍāṁcaṇēm*, *ḍasaṇēm*, *damkhaṇēm*, *damś*, etc. (see § 246). Skt. *pravāda* 'narrative,' Pāli *pavāda*, Hindī, Sindhī *pavār*, Guj. *pavād*, Mar. *pavādā*. Skt. *dōlā* 'swing,' Prāk. *ḍōlā*, Pāli *dōlā*, Bihārī *dōr*, *dōr*, Hindī *ḍōl(ā)*, *ḍōlī*, *dōl(ā)*, *dōlik*, Panj., Sindhī *ḍōlī*, Guj. *ḍōī*, *ḍōlavuṁ*, Mar. *ḍōlā*, *ḍōlī*, *ḍōlā*, *dōlī*, Anglo-Ind. *dooly*.

$\bar{d} > t$ .

§ 252. The change of the voiced  $\bar{d}$  to the voiceless *t* is regular in the Pāisācī Prākṛit, but elsewhere it is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *durgā* 'name of Parvatī,' Pāis. Prāk. *tukkā*. Skt. *pradēśa* 'district,' Pāis. Prāk. *patēsa*, Pāli *padēsa*. Skt. *yadi* 'if,' Jāina Prāk. *jati*, etc. (see § 246).

$\bar{d} > th$ .

§ 253. The change of  $\bar{d}$  to *th* occurs very rarely in Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *daḍaiti* 'gives,' Phl. *dātānō*, New Pers. *dūdan*, Samn. *dam*, Māz. *hādīa*, Gil. *fandī*, Tāl. *diah*, Wāxī *radān*, Šīyn. *ḍiam*, Sarq. *dām*, Afγ. *lal*, Bal. *dēag*, N. Bal. *dēay*, Kurd. *dān*, Dig. Oss. *dadthun*, Tag. *daththin*. Av. *darəya* 'long,' Old Pers. *darga*, Afγ. *lārya*, Kurd., Oss. *darg*, but Oss. *tharqus* 'hare' (lit. 'long-ear,' cf. New Pers. *darāzqōš* 'hare, donkey').

$\bar{d} > dh, \delta$ .

§ 254. The aspirization of an original  $\bar{d}$  is found both in the

Indian and in the Iranian dialects apart from the regular change in Iranian of *d* to *ð* before consonants.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prāk. *dhī(y)ā*, Śāur. Prāk. *dhādā*, *dhādā*, Pāli *dhītā*, *dhītara*, Hindī, Panj. *dhī(yā)*, Sindhī *dhīu*, *dhīy*, Guj. *dhī(yā)*, etc. (see § 250). Skt. *ḍm̐hita* 'firm,' Jāina Prāk. *dhaṇiya*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, Wāxī *ðas*, *las*, Šīyn. *ðīs*, *lis*, Sarq. *ðēs*, Sangl. *das*, Yidg. *lus*, Yayn. *das*, Afy. *las*, Kurd. *dav*, Zaza *das*, Oss. *das(am)*. Av. *dadaiti* 'gives,' Wāxī *radān*, Šīyn. *ðiam*, Sarq. *ðām*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Wāxī *pūð*, Šīyn. *pāð*, Sarq. *pað*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phāz*, etc. (see § 246). Av. *x<sup>v</sup>aēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *x<sup>v</sup>ēdē*, *x<sup>v</sup>aī*, New Pers. *x<sup>v</sup>ai*, Wāxī *xil*, Sarq. *xaið*, Afy. *x<sup>v</sup>alē*, Bal. *hēð*, N. Bal. *hēð*, Kurd. *xū*, *xōh*, *xoi*, Oss. *xad*.

*d* > *n*.

§ 255. The change of *d* to *n* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *navadasa* 'nineteen,' Phl. *navācdahum*, New Pers. *nuvāzdahum*, Afy. *nūnas*, *nūlas*, Dig. Oss. *naudas*, Tag. *nudas*.

*d* > *y*.

§ 256. The change of *d* to *y* is only apparent, the *y* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original intervocalic *d* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183, 229, 242). The phenomenon is much more infrequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khādita* 'eaten,' Prāk. *khāia*, Māhār. Prāk. *khāiya*, Pāli *khayita*, Panj. *khādhā*, Guj. *khādhō*, Mar. *khāllā*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hiaya*, *hīaa*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiāüm*, Sindhī *himūmu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. (y)ilō. Skt. *ādēśa* 'order,' Pāli *ādēsa*, Old Bihārī *āyēsu*, *āēsu*, *āyasu*, *āisu*. Skt. *pāda* 'foot,' Prāk. *pāa*, Māhār. Prāk. *pāda*, Hindī *pā(ñ)v*, Panj. *pā(ñ)v*, *pāüm*, Simh. *paya*, *piya*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' New Pers. *xāyad*, Kurd.

*xāñ*. Phl. *xadū(k)* 'saliva,' New Pers. *xayū*, *xadū*. New Pers. *bādām* 'almond,' Šiyn., Sarq. *vāyām*, Kurd. *bāhiv*, *baiv*.

*d > r*.

§ 257. The change of *d* to *r* is not a frequent one.

a. Indian. Skt. *tāḍṛśa* 'such,' Prāk. *tārisa*, Pāis. Prāk. *tātisa*, Pāli *tādisa*. Skt. *ētāḍṛśa* 'such,' Māhār. Prāk. *ēyārisa*, *ēarisa*, Pāli *ērisa*, *ēdisa*. Skt. *gadgada* 'stammering,' Prāk. *gaggara*. Skt. *ekadaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēāraha*, Pāli *ekarasa*, *ekadasa*, Kāśm. *kāh*, Ur., Bang. *ēgāra*, Bihārī *egyārah*, Hindi *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giārām*, Sindhī *ikārahañ*, *yārahañ*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*.

*d > l*.

§ 258. The change of *d* to *l* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects, but it is very rare indeed in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Afyān.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadamba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *kalamba*. Skt. *pradīpta* 'kindled,' Prāk. *palīva*, *palitta*, Māhār. Prāk. *palīviya*, Jāina Prāk. *palitta*, Bihārī *palit*. Skt. *dōhada*, *dōhala* 'longing of a pregnant woman,' Prāk. *dōhala*, *ḍōhala*, *dōhaḍa*, Pāli *dōhala*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Wāxī *las*, *das*, Šiyn. *līs*, *ōīs*, Yidg. *lus*, Afy. *las*, etc. (see § 254). Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Afy. *pal*, etc. (see § 246). Phl. *x<sup>v</sup>atūi* 'God,' New Pers. *xudāi*, Šiyn., Sarq. *qudā*, Kurd. *xadē*, *xudē*, Mukrī *xola*. Av. *frazgaḍaiti* 'hastens forth,' Afy. *zyalī*.

*d > l*.

§ 259. The change of *d* to *l* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dōhada*, *dōhala* 'longing of a pregnant woman,' Prāk. *ḍōhala*, *dōhaḍa*, *dōhala*, Pāli *dōhala*.

*d > v*.

§ 260. The change of *d* to *v* is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original



intervocalic *d* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184, 232). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadalī* 'plantain,' Prāk. *karalī*, *kayalī*, *kēlī*, Pāli *kadalī*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kayalā*, *kēlā*, Sindhī *kayalā*, *kēlā*, dimin. *kēviḍō*, Guj. *kēl*, *kēr*, Mar. *kēl*, Siñh. *kehel*, *kesel*.

*d > h.*

§ 261. The change of *d* to *h* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadalī* 'plantain,' Siñh. *kehel*, *kesel* (*s* by false analogy), etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *pādika* 'quarter,' Uṛ. *pāhī*, Bang. *pāī*, Hindī *pāī*, Anglo-Ind. *pie*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *bādām* 'almond,' Kurd. *bāhīv*, *baiv*, etc. (see § 256).

### *Syncope of d.*

§ 262. The syncope of Indo-Iranian *d* is less frequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects. In Iranian the loss of *d* occurs especially in the Persian dialects and in Kurdish.

a. Indian. Skt. *nadī* 'river,' Prāk. *ṇāī*, Pāli *nadī*, New Ind. dialects *nadī*, W. Bang. also *ladī*. Skt. *kadalī* 'plantain,' Prāk. *kēlī*, *kayalī*, *karalī*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kēlā*, *kayalā*, Sindhī *kēlā*, *kayalā*, Guj. *kēl*, *kēr*, Mar. *kēl*, etc. (see § 260). Skt. *khādana* 'meal,' Prāk. *khāṇa*, Pāli *khādana*, Uṛ. *khāibā*, Bang. *khārtē*, Hindī *khānā*, Panj. *khāṇā*, Sindhī *khāinu*, Guj. *khāvin*, Mar. *khāṇēn*. Skt. *śarad* 'autumn,' Prāk. *saraa*, Māhār. Prāk. *saraya*, Pāli *sarada*, Sindhī *saraī*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *nadāram* 'I have not,' Māz. *nārmah*, Gīl. *nāramah*, but *badām* 'I give.' Skt. *padika* 'traveller,' Phl. *paik*, New Pers. *paig* (cf. Māhār. Prāk. loan-word from New Pers. *pāikka*).

### *Epenthesis of d.*

§ 263. The epenthesis of *d* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.



a. Indian. Skt. *pañcadaśa* 'fifteen,' Prāk. *paññaraha*, Pāli *pañcadasa*, Kaśm. *pandāh*, Ur. *pandhar*, Bang. *pōñēra*, Bihārī *pandarāh*, Hindī *paṁdrah*, Panj. *paṁdarān*, Sindhī *paṁdraham*, *paṁdhrān*, Guj. *paṁdar*, Mar. *paṁdharā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dāna* 'grain,' Phl. *dānak*, New Pers. *dānah*, Sarq. *dāna*, Kurd. *dandak*, *dānakī*.

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$$dh = dh.$$

§ 264. Indo-Iranian *dh* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhavala* 'white,' Prāk., Pāli *dhavala*, Ur., Bang. *dhalā*, Hindī *dhāulā*, Sindhī *dhāunrō*, Guj. *dhōlum*, Mar. *dhavā*, *dhaval*. Skt. *dhāvaka* 'washerman,' Ur., Bang. *dhōbā*, *dhōpā*, Hindī *dhōbō*. Skt. *kṣudhā* 'hunger,' Māhār. Prāk. *khuhā*, Pāli *khudā*, Hindī *khudhā*, Panj. *khudhīā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baoiði* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōz*, New Pers. *bōi*, Gab. *būd*, Wāxī *vul*, Sarq. *bāo*, Bal. *bōd*, N. Bal. *bōð*, *bōz*, Oss. *bud*.

$$dh > ḍ.$$

§ 265. The change of *dh* to *ḍ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhṛṣṭa* 'bold,' Prāk. *ḍhitt̥ha*, *ḍhaṭṭha*, Nāip. *dhūntō*, Hindī, Panj. *ḍhīth*, Sindhī *ḍīthu*.

$$dh > ḍh.$$

§ 266. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *dh* is not found very frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhṛṣṭa* 'bold,' Prāk. *ḍhitt̥ha*, *ḍhaṭṭha*, Hindī, Panj. *ḍhīth*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *√dhakk* 'destroy,' Prāk. *ḍhakkā*, Ur. *ḍhakanā*, *dhāṁkanā*, Bang. *ḍhakitō*, Hindī *ḍhakkā*, Panj. *ḍhakkā*, Sindhī *ḍhakaṇu*, *dhikō*, Guj. *ḍhāṁkavun*, Mar. *dhāṁkaṇēn*.

$$dh > t.$$

§ 267. The change of *dh* to *t* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Prāk. *dharay*, Pāli *dhārēti*, Sinh. *terenavā*, *daraṇava*, Gyp. *√ther*.

*dh* > *d*.

§ 268. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *dh* is the most frequent change to which it is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dharmā* 'virtue,' Prāk., Pāli *dhamma*, Kāśm. *daram*, Elu *daham*, Sinh. *dam*. Skt. *dhattūra* 'thorn-apple,' Kāśm. *dattur*, Ur. *dhuturā*, *dhudurā*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *dhatūrā*, Sindhī *dhātūrō*, Guj. *dhatūrō*, Mar. *dhatūrā*. Skt. *kṣudhā* 'hunger,' Pāli *khudā*, etc. (see § 264). Skt. *madhu* 'mead,' Māhār. Prāk. *mahu*, Pāli *madhu*, Hindī *mad*, *madhu*, Sindhī *maḍu*, Mar. *madhu*, Gyp. *mōl*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dhamati* 'blows,' Phl., New Pers. *dam*, Dig. Oss. *dumun*, Tag. *dimin*. Av. *baoiḍi* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōi*, Gab. *būd*, Bal. *bōd*, Oss. *bud*, etc. (see § 264).

*dh* > *bh*.

§ 269. The change of *dh* to *bh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sannirundhati* 'impedes,' Pāli *sannirunḥati*, *sannirunḥati*.

*dh* > *y*.

§ 270. The change of *dh* to *y* is only apparent, *y* being really introduced to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *dh* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256). The phenomenon is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhura* 'sweet,' Māhār. Prāk. *mahura*, Pāli *madhura*, Sinh. *miyuru*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *radhū* 'bride,' New Pers. *bayō*, Judaeo-Pers. *bayōg*, Kurd. *bāk*. Av. *maḍu* 'wine,' Phl., New Pers. *mai*, Oss. *mud*.

*dh* > *l*.

§ 271. The change of *dh* to *l* is quite rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥hagōdhikā* 'lizard,' Pāli *gharagōlikā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baoiḍi* 'perfume,' Wāxī *vul*, etc. (see § 264).

*dh* > *v*.

§ 272. The change of *dh* to *v* is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of *dh* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184, 232, 260).

a. Indian. Skt. *tulādhāra* 'balance-holding,' Sinh. *tulavaru*.

*dh* > *h*.

§ 273. The change of *dh* to *h* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *āuṣadhi* 'drug,' Prāk. *ōsaha*, *ōsadha*, Pāli *ōsadhi*. Skt. *sādhu* 'good,' Prāk. *sāhu*, Pāli *sādhu*, Bihārī *sāh*, Sindhī *sāū*. Skt. *badhira* 'deaf,' Prāk. *bahira*, Pāli *badhira*, Uṛ. *bahirā*, Bang. *bahērā*, Hindī *bahirā*, Sindhī *bōrō*, *bōḷō*, Guj. *bēhērō*, Mar. *bahirā*, Sinh. *bihiri*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēm̐hu*, Nāip. *gāhum̐*, Uṛ. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm̐*, Hindī *gō(m̐)hum̐*, *gēhum̐*, *ghēm̐*, Panj. *ghēm̐*, Sindhī *gēhum̐*, Guj. *ghaūm̐*, Gyp. *giv*. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' Prāk. *vahū*, Pāli *vadhū*, Uṛ. *bahu*, Bang. *baū*, Hindī *ba(h)ū*, Panj. *bōhū*, Sindhī *vahū*, *bōhu*, Guj. *vahu*, Mar. *vahū*.

*Syncope of dh.*

§ 274. The loss of *dh* occurs only rarely in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Uṛ. *gama*, *gahama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Hindī *ghēm̐*, *gēhum̐*, *gō(m̐)hum̐*, Panj. *ghēm̐*, Guj. *ghaūm̐*, Gyp. *giv*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *viḍu*, *viḍava* 'widow,' Phl. *vēvak*, New Pers. *bēvah*, Kāš. *vīa*, *vīgu*, *bīvā*, Kurd. *bī*, Tag. Oss. *idaǰ*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aḍairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Sīv. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīr*, Tag. Oss. *dala*.

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*n* = *n*.

§ 275. Indo-Iranian *n* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although in Middle Indian an original *n* is usually cerebralized to *ṇ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāman* 'name,' Prāk., Pāli *nāman*, New Ind. dialects *nām(v)*, Gyp. *anav*, *nav*. Skt. *nāmayati* 'bows,' Prāk. *nāmēi*, Pāli *nāmēti*, Uṛ. *nuṁāi*, Bang. *nām*, *nuya*, Hindī *nā(v)*, Panj. *nivā*, Sindhī *naivā*. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhāṇu*, Pāli *sināna*, *nāhāna*, Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāūnā*, Guj. *nahāṇ*, Mar. *nahāṇ*, *nāhaṇēṇ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *naṃan* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Wāxī *nung*, Afγ. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, Tag. *nom*. Av. *nairya* 'virile,' Phl. *nērōk*, Pāz., New Pers. *nīrō*, Šiyn. *nīr*, Sarq. *nīar*, Sangl. *narak*, Yidg. *nar*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *navak*, *nōk*, Pāz. *nō*, New Pers. *nō*, *nav*, Šiyn. *nau*, Sarq. *nūj*, Afγ. *nau*, *navai*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Kurd. *nu*, Dig. Oss. *navag*, Tag. *nvog*. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Gab. *jan*, *yan(ūk)*, Sīv. *žin*, Zaf. *žan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *jan*, *jīn*, *yan*, *žan*, Nāy. *yanah*, Samn. *žanikō*, Šiyn. *γin*, Sarq. *γīn*, *žin*, Minj. *žinga*, Afγ. *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, *jal*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *žin*, Zaza *jan*.

$n > \hat{n}$ .

§ 276. The change of *n* to  $\hat{n}$  is confined to the Sindhī, which alone preserves *n*,  $\hat{n}$ , pronounced *ɲg* and *n̥* respectively (see § 154).

a. Indian. Skt. *stana* 'female breast,' Prāk., Pāli *thana*, Uṛ., Bang. *thana*, Hindī *thān*, Panj. *thaṇ*, Sindhī *thaṇu*, *thaṇu*, Guj. *thān*, Mar. *thanā*. Skt. *mānanā* 'respect,' Hindī *mannā*, Sindhī *maṇaṇu*.

$n > \eta$ .

§ 277. The cerebralization of *n* is very frequent in the Middle Indian dialects. Vararuci, ii. 42, goes so far as to postulate a change of *n* to  $\eta$  throughout the Prākritis (*nō ṇaḥ sarvatra*, cf. Pischel on Hēmacandra, i. 229, *Gramm. der Prākrit-Sprachen*, § 224). In the New Indian dialects the change is less common.

a. Indian. Skt. *nadī* 'river,' Prāk. *ṇaī*, Pāli *nadī*, New Ind. dialects *nadī*, W. Bang. also *ladī*. Skt. *vacana* 'speech,' Prāk. *vacana*, Māhār. Prāk. *vayaṇa*, Pāli *vacana*. Skt. *khanēt* 'should

dig,' Gāthā *khaṇṭt*. Skt. *dhēnu* 'cow,' Prāk. *dhēṇu*, Pāli *dhēnu*, Sindhī *dhēṇu*.

$n > b$ .

§ 278. The change of *n* to *b* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *naḡna* 'naked,' Av. *mayna*, Oss. *baynag*.

$n > m$ .

§ 279. The change of *n* to *m* occurs occasionally finally in Iranian.

b. Iranian. Av. *paitidāna* 'penom,' Phl. *padām*, Pāz. *panām*, *panōm*, New Pers. *panām*. Phl. *bān* 'roof,' New Pers. *bān*, *bām*, Sīv. *bān*, Kāš. *bū(n)*, *bōn*, Tāt *sarbu*, Afy. *bām*, Kurd. *bān*. Av. *āfrīna* 'blessing,' Phl. *āfrīn* 'praise,' *nafrīn* 'curse,' New Pers. *nafrīn*, Kurd. *nafrīm*.

$n > r$ .

§ 280. The change of *n* to *r* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nūiraṇjara* nom. prop., Pāli *nēraṇjara*. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *ṭhāṇa*, *thāna*, Apab. Prāk. *ṭhāṇu*, *ṭhāū*, Pāli *ṭhāna*, Nāip. *thanai*, Ur. *thāṇā*, *ṭhāṇā*, Bang. *thān*, *thaṇā*, Bihārī *ṭhāū(n)*, *thā(n)v*, Hindī *thānā*, *ṭhāinā*, Panj. *ṭhāṇā*, *thānā*, Sindhī *thāṇu*, *ṭhāṇu*, Guj. *thāṇ*, *ṭhāṇ*, Mar. *thār*, *ṭhān*, Simh. *tāna*, *ṭāna*.

$n > l$ .

§ 281. The change of *n* to *l* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, and in Sinhalese the change is regular. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, the development is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēnas* 'fault,' Pāli *ēla*, *ēla*. Skt. *nimba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *limba*, Pāli *nimba*, Bihārī *nīm*, Hindī *līm*, *nīm*, Sindhī *limu*, Guj. *limbaḍō*, Mar. *limb*. Skt. *navanīta* 'butter,' Pāli *navanīta*, *nōnīta*, Bang. *nanī*, Hindī *nōnī*, Mar. *lōṇī*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nīla* 'blue,' Kāśm. *nyul*, Bang., Bihārī *līl*, *nīl*, Guj. *līl*. Skt. *vana* 'forest,' Prāk. *vaṇa*, Pāli *vana*, Simh. *val*, Maladive *vali*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nava* 'new,' Simh. *lā*, Gyp. *nevō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Afy. *jal*, *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, etc.



(see § 275). Skt. *naraka* 'youth,' New Pers. *narah*, Kurd. *lau(k)*, *lāv*, *lō*.

$$n > \underline{l}.$$

§ 282. The change of *n* to  $\underline{l}$  is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēnas* 'fault,' Pāli *ēḷa*, *ēla*. Skt. *vana* 'forest,' Maladive *vali*, etc. (see preceding §).

$$n > v.$$

§ 283. The change of *n* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēna* 'nose,' Phl. *vēnīk*, *bēnīk*, Pāz. *vīnī*, New Pers. *bīnī*, Samn. *vīnī*, Māz. *vēnī*, Tāl. *vīnī*, E. Kurd. *baval*, Kurd. *bivīl*, *bēn*.

#### *Syncope of n.*

§ 284. The loss of Indo-Iranian *n* is rather uncommon. In the Iranian dialects the apocope of *n* is found occasionally after long vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Apab. Prāk. *ṭhāū*, *ṭhāṇu*, Bihārī *ṭhāū(n)*, *thā(n)v*, etc. (see § 280).

b. Iranian. Phl. *vārān* 'rain,' New Pers. *bārān*, Zaf. *vurō*, Kāš. *vōrūn*, Nāy. *vārūn*, Kurd. *bārīn*, Dig. Oss. *vārun*, Tag. *varin*. Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *nān* 'bread,' Zaf. *nū*, Nāy. *nōu*, Central dialects *nūn*, Bal. *nagan*, N. Bal. *naḡan*. New Pers. *tābistān* 'summer,' Sīv. *tavisā*. New Pers. *sā* 'manner,' *sān*. Phl., New Pers. *pasīn* 'hinder,' Kurd. *pašī*.

#### *Prothesis of n.*

§ 285. The prothesis of *n* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Phl. *ānīnak* 'mirror,' New Pers. *ānah*, Bal. *ādēnk*, (*h*)*ādēk*, N. Bal. *ādēn*, *āzīna*, Kurd. *nainak*, Dig. Oss. *aidana*.

#### *Epenthesis of n.*

§ 286. The epenthesis of *n* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hazawra* 'thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *hazār*, Afy. *zar*, Zaza *hanzār*.



$$p = p.$$

§ 287. Indo-Iranian *p* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'afterward,' Prāk., Pāli *pacchā*, Ass. *pieč*, *pācē*, Kāśm. *pat(h)*, Ur. *pachē*, *pāchu*, Bang. *pāchā*, Hindī *pachē*, *pīchē*, *pāchū*, *pīchū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Sindhī *pōē*, *puām*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, Sinh. *pas(u)*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kāśm. *pōp*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, Hindī, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhī *pakō*, Guj. ✓*pak*, *pik*, Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*. Skt. ✓*chay* 'go' (?), Ur. *tipibā*, Bang. *chāpitē*, *cāpitē*, *ṭēpitē*, Hindī *chāpanā*, *cānpanā*, *tōpanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *ṭipanā*, *thapanā*, Sindhī *chāpanu*, *cāpanu*, *ṭapudānu*, *ṭhapanu*, Mar. *chāpanēm*, *cāpaṭa-nēm*, *ṭāp*, *ṭhapakā*, Anglo-Ind. (first) *chop*, *shampoo*. Skt., Pāli *jāpana* 'muttering,' Hindī *ja(n)panā*, Mar. *jāpanēm*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pasca* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā(va)*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kāś. *pac*, *paš*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšī*, *pāšva*, Dig. Oss. *fastāga*, Tag. *fastag*. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāi*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Wāxī *pūd*, Šīyn. *pūd*, Sarq. *paḍ*, Sangl. *pud*, Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Yaγn. *puda*, Afγ. *pal*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phāz*, Zaza *pai*. Av. *āp* 'water,' Phl. *āp*, Pāz. *āw*, New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Gab. *ō*, Sīv. *av*, *au*, Yazdī *vō*, Kāś. *ōv*, Nāy. *āō*, Nat. *au*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō(v)*, Gil., Tāl., Tāt *ōv*, Wāxī *yupk*, *yapak*, Yidg. *yovγ*, Yaγn. *āp*, Afγ. *ōba*, Bal. *āp*, N. Bal. *āf*, Kurd. *āv*.

$$p > k.$$

§ 288. The change of *p* to *k* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīṇlika* 'ant,' Pāli *kipillika*, *pīṇlika* (by dissimilation).

$$p > ph, f.$$

§ 289. In the Middle and New Indian dialects the aspirization of an original *p* is usually caused by a following aspirate or sibilant. In the Iranian dialects *p* becomes *f* (apart from the regular laws of aspiration in Iranian) in Ossetish, and between vowels, or

finally after vowels in North Balūcī, although this dialect shows *ph* initially before vowels and *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *parigha* 'bar,' Prāk. *phaliha*. Skt. *paruṣa* 'rough,' Pāli *pharusa*. Skt. *pāribhadra* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *phālihadda*, Pāli *phālibhadda*. Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *pupppha*, Bihārī *phūp(h)*, Old Hindī *puhupa*, Hindī *phūp*, Guj., Mar. *phūl*. Skt. *pāśa* 'noose,' Māhar. Prāk., Pāli *pāsa*, Nāip. *phāmsō*, *pāsō*, Ur. *phās*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *phāms*, Panj. *phāhā*, Sindhī *phāsī*, *phāhī*, Guj., Mar. *phānis*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Phl. *pazēt*, New Pers. *pazad*, Gab. *paxa*, Kāš. *patan*, Māz. *paxta*, Wāxī *pöcam*, Afy. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Bayazid *pāthin*, Dig. Oss. *fičun*, Tag. *fičin*. Av. *parəna* 'feather,' Phl., New Pers. *parr*, Afy. *par*, Bal. *pan*, Kurd. *far*, *pal*, *par*, Zaza *firin* 'to fly.' Skt. *tapas* 'heat,' New Pers. *tāb*, Gab. *tō*, Kāš. *tav*, Afy. *taba*, Bal. *tap*, N. Bal. *thaph*, *thaf*, *thap*, Kurd. *tā(v)*, Tag. Oss. *thaf*. Av., Old Pers. *xšapan* 'night,' Phl. *šap*, *šavāk*, New Pers. *šab*, Samn. *šō*, Māz. *šū*, Tāl. *šav*, Tāt *šū*, Šiyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, Minj. *xšava*, Afy. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, N. Bal. *šaf*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *axšav*.

*p > b*.

§ 290. The change of the tenuis *p* to the media *b* is more common in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects, where *p* normally becomes *v*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lipi* 'tablet,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi) *libi*, Pāli *lipi*. Skt. *nāpita* 'barber,' Prāk. *ṇhāvia*, *nāvia*, Śākara Prāk. *nābida*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Prāk. *apāṭa*, Ur., Bang. *kabāḍa*, Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*. Skt. *api* 'also,' Prāk. *pi*, *avi*, Pāli (a)*pi*, Sindhī *bi*. Skt. *sthāpayati* 'establishes,' Prāk. *ṭhāvēi*, Pāli *ṭhāpēti*, Ur. *thuibā*, Bang. *thārtē*, Hindī, Panj. *thāpanā*, Guj. *thāpavum*, Mar. *thāpaṇēm*, Sinh. *tabanavā*. Skt. *parasvant* 'rhinoceros,' Pāli *balasata*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *kapōta* 'dove,' Phl. *kapōt(ar)*, New Pers. *kabātar*, Wāxī *kibit*, Sarq. *cabaud*, Yidg. *kuvū*, Afy. *kautar*,

*kavntar*, Bal. *kapōt*, *kōtar*, Kurd. *kavōk*. Av. *xšapan* 'night,' New Pers., Šīyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *āp* 'water,' New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Afy. *ōba*, etc. (see § 287). Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpās*, *rōbās*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Gab. *rūvās*, Sarq. *rapč*, Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robas*, Tag. *rūbas*.

$p > m$ .

§ 291. The change of  $p$  to  $m$  is very rare outside the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nīpa* 'Kadamba tree,' Prāk. *nīma*, *nīva*, Pāli *nīpa*. Skt. *āpīda* 'chaplet,' Prāk. *āmēla*, *āvēḍa*. Skt. *punaḥ* 'again,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi), *mina*, (inscriptions of Shāhbazgarhi) *pana*, lit. Prāk. *puna*, Pāli *pana*, Bihārī *phin*, *p(h)un*. Skt. *svapant* 'sleeping,' Pāli *sumanta*, but *supati* 'sleeps.' Skt., Pāli *kacchapa* 'tortoise,' Bang. *kachim*, Hindī, Panj. *kachūā*, Sindhī *kanēhū*. Skt. *sapādiha* 'one and one fourth,' Prāk. *savāia*, Ur. *saūyāi*, Bang. *saūyā*, Hindī *savā*, W. Hindī *samā*, Panj. *savā(iā)*, Sindhī *savāi*, Guj. *savā*, Mar. *savvā*.

$p > y$ .

§ 292. The change of  $p$  to  $y$ , which is, as in all similar phenomena, only apparent (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256, 270), is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *pipāsā* 'thirst,' Hindī *piyās*, *piās*, *pyās*.

$p > v$ .

§ 293. The change of  $p$  to  $v$  is the most frequent one of all those to which Indo-Iranian  $p$  is subject, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. It is closely akin to the changes of  $p$  to  $b$  and of  $b$  to  $v$  noted in §§ 290, 308.

a. Indian. Skt. *kapāla* 'skull,' Prāk., Pāli *kavāla*. Skt. *pāpa* 'evil,' Prāk. *pāva*, Pāli *pāpa*, Kaśm. *pāph*, Sinh. *pavu*, other New Ind. dialects *pāp*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *uvajjhā*,

*ujjhā*, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādha*, Sindhī *vājhō*. Skt. *kapāta* 'door,' Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavād*, etc. (see § 290).

b. Iranian. Av. *upairi* 'above,' Old Pers. *upariy*, Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (*a*)*bar*, Wāxī, Sarq. *var*, Afy. *prē*, Bal. *par*, N. Bal. *phar*, *gvar*, Kurd. *bar*, Oss. *vala*. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' Pāz. *law*, New Pers. *lab*, Gab. *lāv*, Bahb. *lau*, Zāf. *lō*, Kāš. *lav*, Vōn. *lōi*, Nay. *liyū*, Wāxī, Sangl. *lav*, Bal. *lap*, Kurd. *liv*. Av. *āp* 'water,' New Pers. *āv*, *āb*, Siv. *av*, *au*, Kāš. *ōv*, Māz. *ōv*, *ō*, Gīl. *Tāl*, Tāt *ōv*, Yidg. *yovy*, Kurd. *āv*, etc. (see § 287). Av. *xšapan* 'night,' Phl. *šavāk*, *šap*, Tāl. *šav*. Minj *xšava*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *axšav*, etc. (see § 289). Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Gab. *rūvās*, Kurd. *rūvi*, etc. (see § 290). Skt. *kapiñjala* 'partridge,' Bal. *kapīnjar*, N. Bal. *khawīnjar*.

### *Syncope of p.*

§ 294. The loss of Indo-Iranian *p* through the transition-grades *b* and *v* (cf. §§ 290, 293, 309, 376) is not uncommon in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *āryaputra* 'father-in-law's son,' Prāk. *ajjaūtta*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kaśm. *khuk*, Uṛ., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *kū(ñ)ām*, Sindhī *khāhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *kapittha* 'wood-apple tree,' Uṛ. *kaṛita*, Hindī *kaṭhabel* (with metathesis).

b. Iranian. Av. *āp* 'water,' Gab. *ō*, Nay. *āō*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō*, *ōv*, etc. (see § 287). Skt. *tapas* 'heat,' Gab. *tō*, Kurd. *tā*, *tāv*, etc. (see § 289).

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### *ph = ph.*

§ 295. Indo-Iranian *ph* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *phaṇa* 'snake's hood,' Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *phaṇā*, Sindhī *phaṇi*, Guj. *phaṇō*, Mar. *phaṇā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Phl., New Pers. *kaf*, Wāxī *xuf*, Sarq. *xaf*, Bal. *kap*, Kurd. *kaf*, Dig. Oss. *xufa*, Tag. *xaf*. Av. *safa* 'hoof,' Afy. *sva*, Oss. *safthag*.

*ph* > *p*.

§ 296. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *ph* is excessively rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects, excepting in Balūcī, where intervocalic *ph* regularly becomes *p*, which North Balūcī has developed to *f*.

a. Indian. Skt. *phaḍṇga* 'flying insect,' Pāli *paṭaṅga*. Skt. *phalgu* 'herb,' Pāli \**phalgava* > *paggava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf(ak)*, New Pers. *kōh*, Kuhr. *kūfūn*, Tāt *kuf*, Afγ. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpag*, N. Bal. *kōfaγ*, Kurd. *kūh*. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Bal. *kap*, etc. (see preceding §).

*ph* > *b*.

§ 297. The change of *ph* to *b* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Afγ. *kvab*, etc. (see preceding §).

*ph* > *bh*.

§ 298. The change of *ph* to *bh* is found not infrequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēpha* 'burring sound,' Prāk. *rēbha*. Skt. *saphala* 'fruitful,' Prāk. *sabhala*, Apab. Prāk. *sahalu*, Pāli *saphala*. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Prāk. *sabhari*, *sahari*, Pāli *saphari*, Hindī *saharī*, Panj. *saūl*.

*ph* > *v*.

§ 299. The change of *ph* to *v* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Kurd. *kūh*, but *kōvī* 'wild,' etc. (see § 296). Av. *safa* 'hoof,' Afγ. *sva*, etc. (see § 295).

*ph* > *h*.

§ 300. The change of *ph* to *h* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Prāk. *sahari*, *sabhari*, Hindī *saharī*, etc. (see § 298).

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' New Pers. *kōh*, etc. (see § 296).



*Syncope of ph.*

§ 301. The loss of Indo-Iranian *ph* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Panj. *saūl*, etc. (see § 298).

*Epenthesis of ph, f.*

§ 302. The epenthesis of *ph, f*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taša* 'axe,' New Pers. *taš*, Kurd. *tafsciu*.

*b = b.*

§ 303. Indo-Iranian *b* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *badhnati* 'binds,' Prāk. *baṇḍhaī*, Pāli *baṇḍhati*, Hindī *bāṇḍh*, Panj. *bannh*, Sindhī *bāṇḍh*. Skt. *budhyatē* 'knows,' Prāk. *bujjhaī*, Pāli *bujjhati*, Kaśm. *sanjhaadi*, *bujhibā*, Ur., Bang. *būjhana*, Hindī *būjhanā*, Panj. *bujjhaṇā*, Sindhī *būjhaṇu*, Guj. *bujavun*, Mar. *bujh*. Skt. *śabara* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *sabara*, *samara*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baxšaiti* 'divides,' Phl. *baxtanō*, Pāz., New Pers. *baxšidan*, Afγ. *bašal*, *baxal*, Bal. *bakšag*, N. Bal. *baškaγ*, Kurd. *baxšin*. Av. *bərəz* 'high,' Phl., New Pers. *burz*, Kurd. *barz*, Oss. *barzond*.

*b > p.*

§ 304. The change of the *b* to *p* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bādha* 'firm,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi and Dhauli) *pādha*, Māhār. Prāk. *bādha*. Skt. *balvaja* 'reed,' Pāli *pabbaja*.

*b > bh.*

§ 305. The aspirization of Indo-Iranian *b* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bhaaphadi*.

*b > m.*

§ 306. The change of *b* to *m* is extremely rare (cf. Skt. *brūhi* 'speak!' Av. *mrūidi*).

a. Indian. Skt. *śabara* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *samara*, *sabara*. Skt. *kabandha* 'belly, cloud,' Prāk. *kamaṇḍha*, *kayaṇḍha*.



$b > y$ .

§ 307. The change of  $b$  to  $y$ , which is only an apparent one (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256, 270, 292), is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kabandha* 'belly, cloud,' Prāk. *kayam̐dha*, *kamam̐dha*.

$b > v$ .

§ 308. The change of  $b$  to  $v$  is very common, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The Prākrits have so far confused  $b$  and  $v$  that Vararuci writes  $v$  for  $b$  throughout. The New Indian dialects use  $v$  almost to the exclusion of  $b$  in the East, Hindī reverses this, writing every  $v$  as  $b$ , Panjābī uses  $b$  and  $v$  indifferently, while the Western dialects preserve the original distinction between the two more carefully.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'vapor,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Śāur. Prāk. *bappa*, Pāli *bappa*, Kāśm. *bāha*, Ur., Bang. *bāpha*, *bhāpha*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bā(n)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *ḷāph*, Guj. *bā(n)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *bandhyā* 'barren woman,' Prāk., Pāli *vaṁjjhā*, Bang. *bāṁjhā*, Sindhī *vāṁjh*, Marvarī *bāṁjhadī*, Guj. *vāṁjham*, Mar. *vāṁjh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būza* 'goat,' Phl. *būj*, New Pers. *buz*, Wāxī *buc*, *būc*, Šīyn., Sarq. *vaz*, Sangl. *vuz*, Minj. *voza*, Yidg. *viza*, Afγ. *vuz*, Kurd. *bizin*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēvak*, *nēv*, New Pers. *nēv*, *nēk*.

*Syncope of b.*

§ 309. The syncope of an intervocalic  $b$  is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pibati* 'drinks,' Prāk. *piāi*, Pāli *pibati*, Siñh. *bonavā*, caus. *poranavā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēvak*, *nēv*, New Pers. *nēk*, *nēv*.

*Epenthesis of b.*

§ 310. The epenthesis of  $b$  is quite rare. It seems to occur mostly in the vicinity of  $m$ .

b. Iranian. Av. *staxra* 'stiff,' Phl. *stahmbaktar*, *stahmaktar*,

New Pers. *sitam*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Phl., New Pers. *dum*, *dumb*, Sarq. *ḍüm*, *ḍümbā*, Afγ. *lam*, Kurd. *dūv*, *dunk*, Dig. Oss. *dumag*, Tag. *dimag*. Skt. *rōman* 'hair of the body,' New Pers. *rūm*, *rumah*, *rumbah*.

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*bh* = *bh*.

§ 311. In the Indian dialects Indo-Iranian *bh* is in general retained unchanged. The Iranian dialects, on the other hand, change *bh* to *b*, which, however, in the younger Avesta became *w*, excepting when *b* was preceded by a written nasal or sibilant, or when *b* was initial.

a. Indian. Skt. *pratibhāti* 'glory,' Prāk. *paḍibhāti*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *bhūmi* 'earth,' Ur. *bhūma*, *bhūrīm*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindī *bhūm*, *bhūīm*, *bhūrīm*, Panj. *bhūm*, *bhūm*, *bhūrīm*, *bhōrīm*, Sindhī *bhū(īm)*, Guj. *bhū(y)*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Gyp. *phuv*.

*bh* > *kh*, *x*.

§ 312. The change of *bh* to *kh*, *x*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *ābhā* 'glory' + *tāpa* 'heat,' New Pers. *āftāb* 'sun,' Šiγn., Sarq. *aftau*, Kurd. *ātaf*, So *axtāv*, *ataf*, *adav*, Boxtanī *tāv*.

*bh* > *ph*, *f*.

§ 313. The change of *bh* to *ph*, *f*, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *aiwirocayeiti* 'kindles,' Phl. *afrōxtanō*, New Pers. *afrōxtan*. Skt. *abhi* + *sāṇa* 'whetstone,' Phl. *afsān*, New Pers. *afsān*, *avsān*, *fusān*, Wāxī, Sarq. *pasān*. Skt. *ūrṇavābhi* 'spinning-wheel,' New Pers. *bāftan*, Gab. *vaftmūn*, Wāxī *vufam*, Sarq. *vāfam*, Afγ. *ōdal*, *ūdal*, Bal. *gvapag*, N. Bal. *gvafaγ*, Oss. *vafin*.

*bh* > *b*.

§ 314. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *bh* is by no means common.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bhaññī*, *bahiññī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Kaśm. *byaṇ*, Ur. *bhāuñī*, *bhaññī*, Bang. *bañ*, Hindī

*bahin*, Panj. *bhāiṇ*, *bāinh*, Sindhī *bhēṇu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīṇ*, Gyp. *phen*.

*bh* > *m*.

§ 315. The change of *bh* to *m* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *duṇḍubhi* 'drum,' Pāli *dindima*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *bharagā* 'bhang, hemp,' Av. *barsha*, Phl., New Pers. *mang*, *bang*. Skt. *nābhi* 'navel,' Av. *nāfah*, Phl. *nāf(ak)*, Afγ. *nū*, *nūm*, Bal. *nāpag*, *nāfag*, N. Bal. *nāfaγ*, Kurd. *nāv*.

*bh* > *mh*.

§ 316. The change of *bh* to *mh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaṇati* 'speaks,' Prāk. *bhaṇai*, Pāli *bhaṇati*, Mar. *mhaṇaṇēmi*.

*bh* > *v*.

§ 317. The change of *bh* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nabhas* 'cloud,' Yidg. *nuvuh*.

*bh* > *h*.

§ 318. The change of *bh* to *h* is the most common of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *bh* is subject in the Indian dialects, but *bh* does not become *h* in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāṇḍa* 'pot,' Pāli *bhaṇḍa*, Uṛ. *Bang. hāmḍi*, Bihārī *hāmḍ*, *bhāmḍ*, Hindī, Panj. *hōmḍi*, Sindhī *hamḍi*, Guj. *hāmḍi*, Mar. *hāmḍi*. Skt. *labhati* 'takes,' Prāk. *lahaṛ*, Pāli *labhati*, Uṛ. *nē*, *Bang. laō*, Old Hindī *laha*, Hindī *lē*, Panj. *lahi*, *lāi*, Sindhī *lah*, Guj. *lē*, Mar. *nē*. Skt. *bhavati* 'becomes,' Prāk. *huvāṛ*, *bhavaṛ*, Pāli. Prāk. *bhōti*, Śāur. *hōdi*, *huvadi*, *havadi*, *bhōdi*, *bhuvadi*, *bhavadi*, Pāli *hōti*, *bhavati*, Uṛ. *hōibā*, *hēbā*, *Bang. hōitē*, Hindī *hōnā*, Panj. *hōṇā*, Sindhī *huanu*, Guj. *hōvun*, Mar. *hōṇēm*.

*m* = *m*.

§ 319. Indo-Iranian *m* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass.

*māj*, Kaśm. *manz*, Ur. *majhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Hindī *mājhi*, *manjhōlā*, Panj. *māñjh*, *majjh*, Sindhī *manjhu*, Mar. *mājh*, Siñh. *mā(m)da*. Skt. *mṛta* 'dead,' Prāk. *maa*, *mua*, Māg. Prāk. *maḍē*, Ur. *malā*, Hindī *muā*, Panj. *muia*, Sindhī *muō*, Guj. *muuñ*, Mar. *mēlēm*, Siñh. *maḷa*. Skt. *kṣamā* 'patience,' Prāk. *khamā* 'patience,' *chamā* 'earth,' Pāli *khamā*, Hindī *chimā*, Panj., Sindhī *khimā*, Guj. *khamā*, Mar. *khamañēm*. Skt. *grāma* 'village,' Prāk., Pāli *gāma*, Ur., Bang. *gām*, Hindī *gāmv*, Sindhī *gāmu*, *gāū*, Guj. *gām*, Mar. *gāmv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maiḍyana* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, Wāxī *malung*, Šīyn. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *maḍān*, Afy. *manj*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mūdag*. Av. *mərōta* 'dead,' Phl. *marṭ* 'mortal,' New Pers. *mard*, Bal. *mar*, Kurd. *mir*. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl., New Pers. *zam*, Wāxī *zam*, Šīyn. *zimj*, *zinj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afy. *žimai*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, Tag. *zimag*. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Māz. *nūm*, Gil. *nōm*, Wāxī *nung*, Afy. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, plur. *namththa*, Tag. *nom*. Phl. *yāmak*, *jāmak* 'robe,' New Pers. *jāmah*, So Kurd. *yūma*.

*m > n*.

§ 320. The change of *m* to *n* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Dig. Oss. *non*, but plur. *namththa*, etc. (see preceding §).

*m > ŋg*.

§ 321. The change of *m* to *ŋg* occurs but seldom.

b. Iranian. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Wāxī *nung*, etc. (see § 319). Skt. *āma* 'raw,' New Pers. *xām*, Wāxī *yūng*, Afy. *ōm*, *ūm*, Bal. *hāmag*, N. Bal. *hāmay*, Kurd. *xāv*.

*m > ph, f*.

§ 322. The change of *m* to *ph, f* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dāman* 'bond,' New Pers. *dām*, Afy. *lūm*, Kurd. *daf*.

$m > b$ .

§ 323. The change of  $m$  to  $b$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahiṣa* 'buffalo,' Pāli *mahiṃsa*, Kāśm. *māiṣ*, Ur. *bhayēṣa*, Bang. *bhaiṃs*, Bihārī *mhāis*, *bhāiṃs*, *mahiṣ*, *bahiṣ*, Hindī *bhāiṃs*, *mhāiṃs*, Panj. *majh*, Sindhī *manjḥ*, *māmhi*, Guj. *bhēiṃs*, *bhāiṃs*, *bhāiṃh*, Mar. *bhāiṃs*, *mhāis*. Skt., Pāli *manōrama* 'delightful,' Old Sinh. *manumaraka* 'grandson' < \**manurama-ka*, Sinh. *munuburu* ( $m > b$  by dissimilation).

$m > v$ .

§ 324. In the New Indian dialects the change of  $m$  to  $v$  is a very frequent one. It is more rare in the Middle Indian, while only a few instances are quotable from the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *manmatha* 'love,' Prāk. *vammaha*, Śāur. Prāk. *mammadha*. Skt. *abhimanyu* nom. prop., Prāk. *ahivaṇṇu*, *ahimaṇṇu*. Skt. *yāmala* 'pair,' Jaina Prāk. *yāvāra*, Pāli *yamala*. Skt. *mīmāṃs* 'investigating,' Pāli *vivāṃs*. Skt. *āmalaka* 'myrobalan,' Prāk. *āmalaa*, Pāli *āmalaka*, Ur. *āmalā*, Bang. *āolā*, *āülā*, Hindī, Panj. *āiṃvalā*, Sindhī *āiṃvirō*, Mar. *āiṃvalā*. Skt. *śyāmala* 'swarthy,' Pāli *sāmala*, E. Hindī *sāiṃvar*, Hindī *sāiṃvalā*, W. Hindī *sāiṃvrai*, Panj. *sāiṃvalā*, Sindhī *sāiṃvalu*, *sāiṃviru*, Mar. *sāiṃvalā*. Skt. *gōsvāmika* 'monk,' Bihārī *gōsāmī*, Mar. *gōsāvī*, other New Ind. dialects *gōsāiṃ*, Anglo-Ind. *gosain*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēman* 'face,' Phl. *andēmānkar*, Pāz. *andī-mānī*, New Pers. *dīm*, Sīv., Zaf., Kāš. *dim*, Kuhr. *dim*, *dīm*, Afγ. *lēma*, Bal. *dēm*, N. Bal. *dēv*, *dēv*, Kurd. *dēm*. Av. *pairi* 'around' + *vazaiti* 'flies,' New Pers. *parmāz* 'flight' beside *parvāz*. New Pers. *parvānah* 'butterfly' beside *parmānah*. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Phl. *namāc*, Pāz., New Pers. *namāz*, Afγ. *nmunj*, Bal. *navāš*, *namāš*, Kurd. *nīvēz*, *nvēž*, *nmēž*. Av. *naēma* 'half,' Phl. *nēm(ak)*, Pāz., New Pers. *nīm*, Afγ. *nīmai*, Bal. *nēmāg*, Kurd. *nīv*.

$m > s$ .

§ 325. The change of  $m$  to  $s$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk. *bhasala*, *bhasara*,



*bhasana*, *bhamara*, Apab. Prāk. *bhasahu*, Jāina Prāk. *bhasara*, Pāli *bhamara*, Ur. *bhaṇāra*, Bang. *bhāmāra*, Bihārī *bhāuṇrā*, Hindī *bhaṇvar*, *bhāuṇr*, Panj. *bhaṇaur*, Sindhī *bhāuṇru*, Mar. *bhōṇr*. [So Hēmacandra falsely (see Pischel, § 251).]

$m > ṁ$ .

§ 326. The change of *m* to *ṁ* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nāman* 'name,' Hindī *nāṁv*, Panj. *nāūm*, Sindhī *nāṁuṁ*, Mar. *nāv*, Gyp. *anāv*, *nav*. Skt., Prāk. *bhūmi* 'earth,' Pāli *bhūmi*, *bhummi*, Ur. *bhūma*, *bhūim*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindī *bhūṁ*, *bhūim*, *bhūm*, Panj. *bhūim*, *bhūim*, *bhōim*, *bhūm*, Sindhī *bhūim*, *bhū*, Guj. *bhū*, *bhuy*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Sinh. *bima*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *rōman* 'hair of the body,' Bang. *rōmā*, Bihārī *rōām*, *rōvaṇ*, Hindī, Panj., *rōām*, Sindhī *lūm*. Skt. *gōsvāmika* 'monk,' New Ind. dialects *gōsām*, etc. (see § 324). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *dhūma* 'smoke,' Ass. *dhōmā*, Nāip. *dhūām*, Kaśm. *duh*, Bang. *dhuyām*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *dhūām*, *dhūām*, Sindhī *duṁhām*, Guj., Mar. *dhūm*, Sinh. *dum*.

$m > ṁv$ .

§ 327. The change of *m* to *ṁv* is found occasionally in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāman* 'name,' Hindī *nāṁv*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kumāra* 'prince,' Prāk. *kumāra*, Māg. Prāk. *kumālē*, Pāli *kumāraka*, Bihārī *kumar*, *kuar*, *kuvar*, Hindī *kumvar*, Panj. *kaniwar*, Mar. *kunivar*.

*Syncope of m.*

§ 328. The loss of Indo-Iranian *m* is very frequent in the New Indian dialects, although in Middle Indian *m* is lost only when final. In the Iranian dialects the phenomenon is found but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *katham* 'how,' Prāk. *kaha*, *kahan*. Skt. *idānīm* 'now,' Prāk. *daṇi*, *dāṇim*, Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions



*hidālōkika* 'temporal.' Skt., Pāli *nēmi* 'circumference,' U<sub>r</sub>. *niā*, Bang. *nēō*, E. Hindī, Hindī *nēv*, Panj. *niūm*, Guj. *nēv*. Skt. *cāmara* 'ox-tail fan,' Prāk. *cāmara*, Pāli *cāmara*, U<sub>r</sub>. *camara*, Bang. *cāunir*, *camarā*, Hindī *cāurī*, *cāunirī*, Panj. *cāur*, Sindhī *cāuru*, Guj. *cāurī*, Mar. *cāurī*, *cāumrī*, *cāmar*, Anglo-Ind. *chowry*. Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Nāip. *dhūām*, Hindī, Panj. *dhūām*, *dhū-mām*, etc. (see § 326). Skt. *vāmana* 'dwarf,' Prāk., Pāli *vāmana*, Bang. *bāuniyā*, Hindī *banā*, *bāunā*, Panj. *bāunā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *gaḍumava*, name of a place, Phl., Pāz. *gantum* 'garlic,' New Pers. *gandum*, Nāy. *gundō*, Wāxī *γidīm*, Šiyn. *zindam*, Sarq. *zandam*, *zandum*, Sangl., Minj. *γandam*, Yidg. *γadum*, Afy. *yanum*, Bal. *gandīm*. Old Pers. *avākanam* 'I dug,' New Pers. *kanam*, Gab. *akana*, *akanē*, but 1 pl. *akanīm*.

### *Epenthesis of m, n.*

§ 329. In the Indian dialects epenthesis of *m*, *n*, is very frequent. It is far less common in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yat prabhṛti* 'since,' Jāina Prāk. *jappabhiim*, cf. Māhār. Prāk. *tappabhiim*. Skt. *mahiṣa* 'buffalo,' Pāli *mahiṃsa*, Kāśm. *mūmṣ*, Bang. *bhāims*, Bihārī *bhāims*, *mhāis*, *mahis*, *bahis*, Hindī *bhāims*, *mhāims*, Sindhī *maṃjh*, *māmhī*, Guj. *bhēms*, *bhāims*, *bhāimh*, Mar. *bhāims*, *mhāis*, etc. (see § 323). Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kāśm. *khuh*, U<sub>r</sub>., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *kūmām*, *kūām*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *chāyā* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhī*, *chāyā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā*, U<sub>r</sub>. *chāhina*, Bihārī *chāimh*, Hindī *chām*, *chāimv*, *chāmh*, *chāōm*, Panj. *chām*, *chāim*, Sindhī *chām(v)*, Guj. *chāmy*. Skt. *nabhas* 'cloud,' Prāk. *naha*, Pāli *nabha*, Sinh. *numba*, *nuba*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *lajjā* 'modesty,' U<sub>r</sub>., Old Bang., Hindī *lajjā*, *lāj*, Panj. *lajj*, Sindhī *lāj*, Guj., Mar. *lajjā*, *lāj*, Sinh. *laṃda*, *lada*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *prḍaku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *palang*, *pilang*, Afy. *prāng*. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Afy. *mmuṃj*, etc. (see § 324). Lat. *vespa* 'wasp,' Lith. *vapsa*, Bal. *gramz*, *grabz*. New Pers.

*pōz* 'part about the nose,' Gab. *pūz*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afγ. *pōza*, *paza*, Bal. *pōnz*, *pōz*, N. Bal. *phōnz*, *phōz*, Kurd. *pūz*, *pōz*, Dig. Oss. *finja*, Tag. *finj*. Phl. *huftanō* 'to hide,' 3 s. pres. *hūmbēt*, New Pers. *nihuftan*, *nihunbīdan*, Kurd. *nixiftin*.

$y = y$ .

§ 330. Indo-Iranian *y* remains in general unchanged in the Iranian dialects, especially in the Persian dialects. In the Indian dialects, on the other hand, the preservation of an initial *y* is excessively rare, although it is usually retained internally.

a. Indian. Skt. *yabhati* 'fuit,' Sindhī *yabhaṇu*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *dayālu* 'merciful,' Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *dayāl(u)*, Sindhī *ḍayālu*, Guj., Mar. *dayāl(u)*. Skt. *hrdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hia(y)a*, Pāis. Prāk. *hitaaka*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiāum*, Sindhī *himānu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. (*y*)ilo.

b. Iranian. Av. *yaska* 'disease,' Phl. *yask*, New Pers. *jask*. Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juy*, Kuhr. *yū*, Šiγn. *yuy*, Sarq. *yūy*, Bal. *jōy*, Kurd. *jūk*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *yav*, *jav*, New Pers. *jav*, Sīv. *yu*, Zaf. *yah*, Kāš. *ya*, Kuhr. *yah*, Šiγn. *yavaj*, Sarq. *yaugj*, Yaγn. *yan*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Mukrī *yō*, Oss. *yan*. Av. *yāna* 'path,' New Pers. *yān*, Afγ. *yūn*. Av. *asaya* 'shadowless,' Phl. *sāyak* 'shadow,' New Pers. *sāyah*, Bal. *sāig*, N. Bal. *sāi*, Kurd. *sī*. Av. *zayata* 'was born,' Phl. *zayand*, New Pers. *zayad*, Afγ. *zēžī*, Bal. *zāyag*, N. Bal. *zāy*, Kurd. *zāin*, Oss. *zayi*.

$y > j$ .

§ 331. In the Indian dialects original *y* regularly becomes *j*. Uṛiya and Bangālī pronounce every *y* as *j*, and the same practice is observed in most instances by Hindī and Panjābī. The West Indian dialects, the Sindhī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, on the other hand, retain the Old Indian value of *y* (cf. also § 308). The change of *y* to *j* is less common in the Iranian dialects, although New Persian, Afγān, Balūcī, and Kurdish show frequent examples of it.

a. Indian. Skt. *ya* 'who,' Prāk. *ja*, Pāli *ya*, U<sub>2</sub>, Bang. *jē*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *jō*, Guj. *jē*, Mar. *jō*. Skt. *yōgya* 'worthy,' Prāk. *jogga*, Pāli *yogga*, New Ind. dialects *jōg*, Mar. also *yōg*. Skt. *yāuvana* 'youth,' Prāk. *jovvaṇa*, Pāli *yobbana*, Sindhī *jōbhanu*. Skt. *yantragṛha* 'bath-room,' Pāli *jantāghara*, *jantaggha*. Skt. *yathā* 'how,' Prāk. *jahā*, Pāli *jathā*, Gāthā *jahā*, U<sub>2</sub>. *jēthā*, Bang. *jēkhānē*, Hindī *jahāni*, Panj. *jithhē*, Sindhī *jiti*, Guj. *jāmhān*, Mar. *jēthēm*, *jithē*. Skt., Pāli *yāna* 'vehicle,' U<sub>2</sub>. *jibā*, Bang. *jāitē*, Hindī *jānā*, Panj. *jāṇā*, Guj. *javun*, Mar. *yāṇēm*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *yuviyā* 'canal,' Phl. *yōi*, *jōi*, New Pers. *jōi*, Afy. *jova*. Av. *yuxta* 'joined,' Phl. *juxt*, New Pers. *juft*, Afy. *juxt*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *jav*, *yav*, New Pers. *jav*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *yāma* 'glass,' Phl. *jām*, *yām*, New Pers. *jām*.

*y > b*.

§ 332. The change of *y* to *b* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pūya* 'pus,' Pāli *pubba*. Skt. *jarāyu* 'uterus,' Pāli *jalābu*, Sinh. *dalabu*.

*y > bh*.

§ 333. The change of *y* to *bh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarayu* name of a river, Pāli *sarabhu*.

*y > r*.

§ 334. The change of *y* to *r* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śrāmanēya* 'novice,' Pāli *sāmaṇēra*. Skt. *snāyu* 'sinew,' Jaina Prāk. *ṇhāru*, Pāli *nahāru*, Sinh. *naharaya*.

*y > l*.

§ 335. The change of *y* to *l* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'staff,' Prāk. *laṭṭhi*, Śāur. Prāk. *jaṭṭhi*, Pāli *laṭṭhi*, U<sub>2</sub>, Bang. *lāṭhī*, Hindī *lāṭ(ī)*, *lāṭhī*, Panj. *laṭṭhī*, Sindhī *lāṭhī*, Guj. *lāṭ*, *lāṭh*, Mar. *laṭṭh*. Skt. *dyōtayatī* 'illuminates,' Pāli

*jōtalati, jōtayati, jōtēti*. Bihārī *dilōtarsu* 'one hundred and two' beside *diyōtarsu* (on the analogy of *tilōtarsu, calōtarsu*, etc.).

*y > v*.

§ 336. The change of *y* to *v* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛgaya* 'hunt,' Pāli *miḡava*. Skt. *trayaś-trimśat* 'thirty-three,' Jaina Prāk., Pāli *tavattīsa*, Kāsm. *tyaya-trah*, Bihārī *tāintis*, cf. archaic Sinh. *tavak*. Skt. *āyudha* 'weapon,' Prāk. *āūha*, Pāiś. Prāk. *āyudha*, Pāli *āyudha, āvudha*, Sinh. *avi(ya)*.

*y > h*.

§ 337. The change of *y* to *h* is an exceedingly rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *chāya* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhā* 'shadow,' *chāyā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā*, Ur. *chāhīna*, Hindī *chām̐h, chām̐(v), chāōm̐*, Panj. *cā(ū)m̐*, Sindhī *chām̐(v)*, Guj. *cām̐y*. Skt. *raṇaṇ-jaya* 'victorious,' Pāli *raṇaṇjaha*. Skt. *svayampati* 'epithet of Brāhma,' Pāli *sahampati*.

#### *Apocope of y.*

§ 338. The loss of an original initial *y* is found, although but seldom, in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yūkā* 'louse,' Pāli *ūkā*, Hindī *jūm̐*, Gyp. *juv*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *yuṣmākam* 'of you,' GAv. *xšmāka*, YAv. *yuṣmākəm*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*.

#### *Syncope of y.*

§ 339. The loss of an original *y* is not a very frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kisalaya* 'sprout,' Prāk. *kisala, kisalaya*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hīaa, hiaya*, Pāiś. Prāk. *hitaaka*, Ass., Ur., Bang. *hiā*, Panj. *hiāum̐, hiyām̐*, etc. (see § 330). Skt. *vāyu* 'wind,' Prāk. *vāū*, Pāli *vāyu*, Ur. *bōa*, Bang., Hindī *bāī, bāō*, Panj. *vāū*, Sindhī *bāī, vāū*, Guj. *vā(ī)*, Mar. *vāv*. Skt. *dēva-*

*laya* 'temple,' Ur. *dēul*, Bang., Hindi *dēval*, Panj. *dēvālā*, Sindhi *dēvalī*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēval*, *dēul*.

*Prothesis of y.*

§ 340. Prothetic *y* is occasionally found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēva* 'indeed,' Prāk. *yēva*, Śāur. Prāk. *jevva*, Pāli *ēva*, *yēva*, *hēva*. Skt. *āvīrbhutvā* 'having become manifest,' Jaina Prāk. *yāvihottā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ataš*, New Pers. (*ā*)*taš*, *ātiš*, Gab. *taš*, Šīyn. *yāč*, Sarq. *yuč*, Minj. *yār*, N. Bal. *āc*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Wāxī *yaš*, Minj., Yidg. *yasp*, Afγ. *ās*, Bal. (*h*)*aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *aḡsa*, Tag. *yafš*. Av. *ahmi* 'I am,' Old Pers. *amiy*, New Pers. *am*, Afγ. *yam*, *am*, Kurd. *im*.

*aya* > *ā*.

§ 341. The loss of Indo-Iranian *y* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, which has been noted in § 339, gives rise to various contractions. Similar contractions often occur in consequence of the syncope of Indo-Iranian consonants. The contraction of *aya* to *ā* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *abhyayana* 'rehabilitation,' Pāli *abbhāna*. Skt., Pāli *udaya* 'rise,' Sinh. *udā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *dārayavauš* nom. prop., Phl. *dāriav*, New Pers. *dārā(b)*, *dārāv*.

*aya* > *ē*.

§ 342. The contraction of *aya* to *ē* is the normal one in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. It is carried out in all causatives in the Middle Indian.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Prāk. *dhārēi*, Pāli *dhārēti*. Skt. *kathayati* 'tells,' Śāur. Prāk. *kadhēdi*, *kahēdi*, Pāli *kathēti*. Skt. *ṇayati* 'leads,' Prāk. *nēi*, Śāur. Prāk. *nēdi*, Pāli. Prāk. *nēti*, Pāli *ṇayati*, *nēti*, Gāthā *upanēti*. Skt. *kṣaya* 'destruction,' Māg. Prāk., Pāli *khaya*, Hindi, Panj. *chai*, Guj. *khē*, Mar. *khāi*. Skt.,



Prāk., Pāli *bhaya* 'fear,' Ur. *bhē*, Hindī, Panj. *bhāi*, Sindhī *bhāi*, *bhāu*, Mar. *bhē*. Skt. *nayana* 'eye,' Prāk. *ṇaṇa*, Pāli *nayana*, Hindī, Panj. *nāin*, Sindhī *nēnu*, Guj. *nēnam*, *nēm̐n*. Skt. *maya* 'mother,' Sinh. *maṇṇiyam*. Skt. *śayanāsana* 'bed-room,' Pāli *sayanāsana*, Sinh. *senasun*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paourva* 'former' + *ayarə* 'day,' Phl., New Pers. *parēr*, Kāš. *parē*, Bal. *parērī*, *pairērī* 'last year,' N. Bal. *phairī*. Av. *zayciti* 'is born,' Pāmīr dialects *zīd*.

*ayū > ō*.

§ 343. The contraction of *ayū* to *ō* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mayūra* 'peacock,' Prāk., Pāli *mōra*, Kāśm., Ur. *mōr*, Sindhī *mōru*, Guj., Mar. *mōr*.

*ayō > ē, āi*.

§ 344. The contraction of *ayō* to *ē*, *āi*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prāk. *tēraha*, *tēdasa* (inscriptions of Khālsi), *trāidasa* (inscriptions of Girnar), Pāli *tērasa*, Kāśm. *truvāh*, Ur. *tēra*, Bang. *tērō*, Hindī *tērah*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhī *tērahām*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*.

*iya > ĩ*.

§ 345. The contraction of *iya* to *ĩ* is a rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiyant* 'how much?' Pāli *kittaka* < \**kiyat-taka*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *priya* 'beloved,' Av. *frya*, New Pers. *frī*.

*āya > ā*.

§ 346. The contraction of *āya* to *ā* seems to be the most usual one to which *āya* is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāihāyasa* 'aerial,' Jāina Prāk., Pāli *vēhāsa*. Skt. *upatṭhāyaka* 'servant,' Pāli *upatṭhāka*. Skt. *kālāyasa* 'iron,' Pāli *kālāsa*, *kālāyasa*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *xšāyaθiya* 'king,' Phl., New Pers. *šāh*.



*āya* > *ē*

§ 347. The contraction of *āya* to *ē* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *palāyati* 'flees,' Māhār. Prāk. *palāyai*, Pāli *palēti*.

*āya* > *aī*.

§ 348. The contraction of *āya* to *aī* is found in Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasnāyanta* 'they washed,' Dig. Oss. *axsnun*, Tag. *axsnin* 'wash,' Tag. *naīn* 'bathe.' Skt. *rāyati* 'bellows,' Oss. *raīn*.

*r* = *r*.

§ 349. Indo-Iranian *r* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēkhā* 'streak,' Prāk. *rēhā*, Pāli *rēkhā*, Hindī, Panj. *rēkh*, Sindhī *rēghī*, Guj. *rēg*, Mar. *rē(g)h*. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, Māg. Prāk. *lāā*, Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, Pāis. Prāk. *rājā*, Cūlikapāis. Prāk. *rācā*, Pāli *rājan*, Hindī *rāū*, *rāv*, Sinh. *rada*. Skt. *karpūra* 'camphor,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *kappūra*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *kapūr*, Mar. *kāpūr*. Skt. *śvaśura* 'father-in-law,' Pāli *sasura*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *sasur*, Panj. *sahurā*, *sāuhurā*, Sindhī *sahurō*, Guj., Mar. *sāsarā*, Maladive *hurs*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *ravan*, Sangl. *roy*, Minj. *rayan*, Kurd. *rūn*. Av., Old Pers. *rāsta* 'right,' Phl., New Pers. *rāst*, Oss. *rast*, *rasth*. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc(i)h*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Caspian dialects *rū*, but Kāš. *rū*, Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Afy. *rvaḡ*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *ruž*, *rō(ž)*. Av. *starə* 'star,' Phl. *stārak*, New Pers. *sitārah*, Wāxī *stār*, Šiyn. *štarj*, Sarq. *xturj*, Sangl. *ustārah*, Minj. *astāri*, Afy. *stōrai*, Kurd. *istirk*, Zaza *astar*, Oss. *stali*. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>araiti* 'eats,' Old Pers. *μαρτι-χόρα*, Phl. *x<sup>v</sup>arṭanō*, New Pers. *xurdaṇ*, Kāš. *xūrtan*, Šiyn. *xaram*, Sarq. *xoram*, Sangl. *x<sup>v</sup>aram*, Minj. *xaram*, Afy. *x<sup>v</sup>aral*, Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, Kurd. *xurin*, *x<sup>v</sup>ārin*, Dig. Oss. *xvarun*, Tag. *xarin*.

$r > j$ .

§ 350. The change of  $r$  to  $j$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *pūraṇa* 'fulfilment,' Hindī *pūjna*, Sindhī *pujānu*.

$r > ḍh$ .

§ 351. The change of  $r$  to  $ḍh$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ārabḍha* 'beginning,' Prāk. *āḍhatta*, *āraddha*, Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *āraddha*. [See now Pischel, § 223.]

$r > d$ .

§ 352. The change of  $r$  to  $d$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *purandara* 'epithet of Indra,' Pāli *purindada*, *purinda* (by assimilation or false analogy).

$r > n$ .

§ 353. The change of  $r$  to  $n$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *dārayāmiy* 'I hold,' Phl., New Pers. *dāram*, Wāxī *vaḍūram*, Sarq. *ḍoram*, Lād. *dānam*. Phl., New Pers. *mār* 'serpent,' Afy. *mangarai*.

$r > l$ .

§ 354. The change of  $r$  to  $l$  is by far the most common of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian  $r$  is subject, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Māgadhī Prākṛit  $r$  becomes  $l$  everywhere. Similarly in the Prākṛit of the inscriptions of Dhauli, Jaugada, Khālsi, Bhabra, Sahasaram, and Bairāt  $r$  becomes  $l$  throughout, but in the inscriptions of Rūpnāth  $r$  occurs twice.

a. Indian. Skt. *ratnī* 'night,' Prāk. *rattī*, *rātī*, Māg. Prāk. *lattī*, Pāli *rattī*, Uṛ., Bang. *rāt(i)*, Hindī *rāt*, Panj. *rāt*, Sindhī *rātī*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*. Skt. *carāṇa* 'foot,' Prāk. *calaṇa*, Śāur. Prāk. also *carāṇa*, Apab. Prāk. *calaṇu*, Pāis. Prāk. *calaṇa*, Pāli *carāṇa*. Skt. *hāridra* 'yellow,' Prāk., Pāli *hāliddu*. Skt. *parigha* 'iron bar,' Pāli *paligha*. Skt. *rējju* 'string,' Ass. *lēju*, E. Hindī *lējurī*. Skt. *catvāriṃśat* 'forty,' Prāk. *cattālīsa*,

*cāālisa*, Pāli *cattālisa*, *cattarisa*, Kāśm. *čatajih*, Uṛ. *cālisa*, Bang. *callisa*, Bihārī *cālis*, Hindī *cālīs*, Panj. *cālī*, Sindhī *cālih*, Guj., Mar. *cālīs*, Sinh. *hataliha*, *sataliha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raēcayaṭ* 'poured,' Phl. *rēxṭanō*, Pāz. *rēžēd*, New Pers. *rēxtan*, Gab. *rētmūn*, Vōn. *rētan*, Wāxī *varicam*, Sarq. *varaizam*, Bal. *rēcag*, N. Bal. *rīšay*, Kurd. *rētin*, Dig. Oss. *lṛjun*, Tag. *lṛjin*. Av. *vārayna* 'raven,' Phl. *vālay*, *vāray*, *vārak*. Av. (*spa*) *taurunō* 'puppy,' Phl. *taruk*, *tūruk*, *tōruk*, *tōrak*, New Pers. *tōlah*, *tōrah*, Gab. *tōrah*, Kāš. *tōra*, *tūra*, *tura*, Bal. *tōlag*, N. Bal. *thōlay*, Kurd. *tūra*. New Pers. *sūrāx* 'hole,' Judaeo-Pers. *sūlāx*, Afy. *sūrai*. Av. *maoiri* 'ant,' Phl., New Pers. *mōr*, Gab. *mōrik*, Vōn. *mōrcuna*, Dig. Oss. *muljug*, Tag. *maljig*. Av., Phl., New Pers. *nar* 'man,' Sangl. *narak*, Afy., Bal., Kurd. *nar*, Dig. Oss. *nala*, Tag. *nal*.

$r > l$ .

§ 355. The change of *r* to *l* is not a very frequent one. It is, of course, confined to the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṅgāra* 'coal,' Prāk. *iṅgālā*, Pāli *aṅgāra*, Guj. *iṅgārō*, *aṅgārō*, Mar. *iṅgāl(ā)*, *iṅgōl*, Gyp. *angār*. Skt. *catvāriṃśat* 'forty,' Pāli *cattālisa*, *cattārisa*, Panj. *cālī*, Sinh. *hataliha*, *sataliha*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kṣāra* 'ashes,' Prāk. *chāra*, Pāli *khāra*, *chārika*, New Ind. dialects *khār*, but Sindhī *chāru*, Sinh. (*h*)*aḷu*, Maladive *hulu*.

### *Syncope of r.*

§ 356. The loss of an original *r* is infrequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *param*, *parē* 'beyond,' Māg. Prāk. *palē*, Apab. Prāk. *pali*, Bihārī *pāi*. Skt. *durōsārīta* 'duly and unduly restored,' Pāli *dōsarīta*.

b. Iranian. Pāz., New Pers. *aḡar* 'if,' Sīv. *ay*. New Pers. *kar* 'make!' Gab. *kar*, Central dialects *ka*, Kāš. *ki*, Nāy. *nika*. New Pers. *bar* 'bear!' Zaf. *bar*, Kāš. *ba*, Vōn. *bar*, Kuhr., Kurd.

*ba.* Av. *mātar* ‘mother,’ Phl. *māt(ar)*, New Pers. *mādar*, Gab. *māye*, Kāš. *maī*, *mōya*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gil. *mōr*, *māar*, Tāl. *mū*, Šiyn. *mād*, Minj. *māyā*, Afγ. *mōr*, Bal. *māt*, N. Bal. *māθ*, *mās*, Kurd. *māk*, Dig. Oss. *mada*, Tag. *mād*.

*Epenthesis of r.*

§ 357. Epenthetic *r* occurs in the Indo-Iranian dialects very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kōṭi* ‘ten millions,’ Māg. Prāk. *kōḍi*, Bihārī *karōr*, *karōr*, Hindī *krōr*, Anglo-Ind. *crore*. Skt. *vyāsa* nom. prop., Apab. Prāk. *vrāsu*. Skt. *bhāṣya* ‘commentary,’ Prāk. *bhrāsa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tašaṭ* ‘shaped,’ archaic New Pers. *tāšitan*, Afγ. *tarxaḡ*. Av. *baxta* ‘fate,’ Phl., New Pers. *baxt*, Afγ. *barxa*, *braxa*. Av. *aži dahāka* nom. prop., Phl. *ažē dahāk*, New Pers. *aždahā* ‘dragon,’ Kurd. *aždarha*, *aždaha*.

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$$l = l.$$

§ 358. Indo-Iranian *l* is in general preserved unchanged in the Indian dialects. In Old Iranian Indo-Iranian *l* was entirely lost, excepting in the foreign proper names *haldita* and *dubāla* in the Old Persian inscriptions. In the Middle and New Iranian *l* reappears, sometimes representing Indo-Iranian *l*, and sometimes Indo-Iranian *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lagna* ‘attached,’ Prāk., Pāli *lagga*, Hindī *lagā*, *lāg*, Panj. *lag*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*. Skt. *limpati* ‘smears,’ Prāk. *linpai*, Pāli *limpati*, Uṛ. *lip*, Bang. *lēp*, Hindī *līp*, *lēp*, Panj. *lipp*, *limb*, *limm*, Sindhī *limb*, Guj. *lip*, Mar. *lēp*. Skt. *āmalaka* ‘myrobalan,’ Prāk. *āmala*, Pāli *āmalaka*, Uṛ. *āmālā*, Bang. *āolā*, *āulā*, Hindī *āmvalā*, Panj. *āulā*, Sindhī *āmvirō*, Mar. *āmvalā*. Skt. *calati* ‘wanders,’ Prāk. *calaī*, Pāli *calati*, Uṛ. *cāl*, Bang. *cāl*, Hindī *cal*, Marw. *car*, Panj. *call*, Sindhī *cal*, Guj., Mar. *cāl*, *cal*. Skt., Pāli *pippalu* ‘sort of tree,’ Bang. *pippal*, Bihārī, E. Hindī *pīpar*, Panj. *pippal*, Sindhī *pīpiru*, Guj. *pīpal*, Mar. *pīmpal*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' New Pers. *lab*, Kāš. *lav*, Tāt *lov*, Wāxī *lav*, *lafe*, Sangl. *lav*, Bal. *lap*, Kurd. *liv* (cf. Lat. *labium*, Anglo-Saxon *lippa*). Phl. *lištanō* 'lick,' New Pers. *lištan*, Zaf., Kāš. *balēs*, Wāxī *lixam* (cf. Skt. *lēhmi*, *rēhmi* 'I lick,' Gk. λείχω, Lith. *lēziù*, O. H. Germ. *leckōn*). Av. *garah* 'throat,' Phl. *garūk*, New Pers. *gulū*, *galū*, Sangl. *gar*, Afy. *γāra*, Kurd. *garu* (cf. Skt. *gala*, Lat. *gula*, O. H. Germ. *kēla*).

$l > \bar{d}$ .

§ 359. The change of *l* to  $\bar{d}$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *palāśa* 'green,' Śāk. Prāk. *paḍāśa*. Skt. *lalāṭa*, *rarāṭa* 'forehead,' Prāk. *ṇiḍāla*, Pāli *lalāṭa*, *nalāṭa* (cf. lexicog. Skt. *niṭala*). Skt. *tāla* 'palmyra-palm,' Pāli *tāla*, Uṛ. *tāl*, Bang. *tāl*, other New Ind. dialects *tāḍ*, *tāṛ*.

$l > n$ .

§ 360. The change of *l* to *n* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects. In Uriya and Bangālī initial *l* is almost always pronounced *n*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lāṃgala* 'plough,' Prāk. *naṃgala*, *laṃgala*, Pāli *naṃgala*, Bihārī *lāṃgal*, Mar. *nāṃgar*, Sinh. *nagula*, *nagala*. Skt. *lalāṭa*, *rarāṭa* 'forehead,' Prāk. *ṇiḍāla*, Pāli *nalāṭa*, *lalāṭa*. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kāśm., Uṛ., Bang. *nūn*, *lōṇ*, Bihārī *lōn*, *nōn*, Hindī *nōn*, *nūn*, *lūn*, Panj. *nūn*, Sindhī *lūṇu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lōṇā*, Gyp. *lon*. Skt. *luṇṭ(h)ā* 'robbery,' Uṛ. *nuṭī*, Hindī *lūt*, Anglo-Ind. *loot*. Skt. *dēhālī* 'threshold,' Pāli *dēhani*. Skt. *jambūla* 'rose-apple tree,' Bihārī *jāmūn*.

$l > r$ .

§ 361. The change of *l* to *r* is the most frequent of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *l* is subject. In Old Iranian, as already noted in § 358, original *l* has become *r* throughout.

a. Indian. Skt. *yāmala* 'pair,' Jaina Prāk. *yāvāra*, Pāli *ya-mala*. Skt. *ālambana* 'support,' Pāli *ārammana*. Skt. *pippala* 'sort of tree,' E. Hindī *pīpar*, Sindhī *pipiru*, etc. (see § 358).



Skt. *śyāmala* 'swarthy,' Pāli *sāmala*, E. Hindī *sāṁvar*, Hindī *sāṁvalā*, W. Hindī *sāṁvraū*, Panj. *sāṁvalā*, Sindhī *sāṁviru*, *sāṁvalu*, Mar. *sāṁvalā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *phāla* 'plough,' New Pers. *supār*, Sarq. *spur*, Afy. *spāra*. Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpas*, *lōpas*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Gab. *ruvās*, Sarq. *rapé*, Bal. *rophash*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robas*, Tag. *rūbas*. Skt. *likṣā* 'nit,' New Pers. *rišk*, Afy. *rica*, Dig. Oss. *liska*, Tag. *lisk*.

$l > \underline{l}$ .

§ 362. The change of  $l$  to  $\underline{l}$  occurs frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *kāla* 'black,' Pāli *kālā*, Ur. *kalā*, Bang., Hindī *kālā*, Panj. *kālā*, Sindhī *kārō*, Guj. *kālō*, Mar. *kālā*, Sinh., Maladive *kalu*. Skt. *sthala* 'place,' Ur., Panj. *thal*, Sindhī *tharu*, Guj., Mar. *thal*. Skt. *ṭalati* 'totters,' Ur. *ṭal*, Bang., Hindī *ṭal*, Panj. *ṭal*, Sindhī *ṭil*, *ṭar*, Guj., Mar. *ṭal*.

*Syncope of l.*

§ 363. The syncope of an original  $l$  is an excessively rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiṅculaka* 'earth-worm,' Māg. Prāk. *kiṁculaē*, Bihārī *kēṁcuvā*, *kēṁcivā*. Skt. *balivarda* 'bull,' Prāk. *baṛilla*, Pāli *balivadda*. Skt. *khalu* 'indeed,' Prāk. (*k*)*khu*, Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions *khō*, *ku*, Pāli *khō*.

$v = v$ .

§ 364. Indo-Iranian  $v$  remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vartikā* 'wick,' Prāk. *vattiā*, Pāli *vaṭṭikā*, Ur. *bati*, Bang. *bāṭi*, Hindī, Panj. *batti*, Sindhī *vaṭi*, Guj. *bati*, Mar. *batti*. Skt. *vṛścika* 'scorpion,' Prāk. *vinchia*, *vinchua*, *vincea*, *viñcua*, Pāli *vicchika*, Ur. *bichū(ā)*, Bang. *bichā*, Hindī *bichūā*, Panj. *bicchū*, Sindhī *bichūṁ*, *vinchū*, Guj. *vinchū*, *vichu*, Mar. *vincū*. Skt. *pavana* 'wind,' Prāk. *paūṇa*, Pāli *pavana*, Kāśm.



*pāvan*, Ur., Bang. *paban*, other New Indian dialects *pavan*, also Hindi *paūn*, Panj. *paūṇ*, Guj. *pōṇ*. Skt. *navatī* 'ninety,' Prāk. *naūim*, Pāli *navutī*, Kāśm. *namath*, Ur. *naḇā*, Bang. *nabbaī*, Bihārī *nabbē*, Hindi, Panj. *navvē*, Sindhī *navē*, Guj. *nēvūn*, Mar. *navvad*.

b. Iranian. Av. *varəcanhvant* 'glorious,' Phl. *vare*, *varj*, New Pers. *varj*. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vād*, Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vād*, Māz. *va*, Tāt *vār*, Afγ. *vō*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *grās*, Kurd. *vāi*, *bā*, Tag. Oss. *vād*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' Phl. *vafr*, New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gil. *varf*, Tāl. *vā*, Judaeo-Pers. *vahr*, Sangl. *varf*, Minj. *varfa*, Afγ. *vāvra*, Kurd. *vafr*, Zaza *vaura*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *navak*, *nōk*, Pāz., New Pers. *nō*, Gab. *nova*, Kāš., Šiyn. *nav*, Sarq. *nūj*, Afγ. *navai*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Kurd. *nu*, Dig. Oss. *navag*, Tag. *nvog*. Av. *daēva* 'demon,' Phl., New Pers. *dēv*, Wāxī *līv*, Šiyn. *δīv*, Sarq. *dēv*.

$v > \check{u}$ .

§ 365. The vocalization or samprasāraṇa of original *v* to  $\check{u}$  is a rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *pavana* 'wind,' Prāk. *paūṇa*, Hindi *paūn*, *pavan*, Panj. *paūṇ*, *pavan*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *dēva* 'god,' New Ind. dialects *dēv*, also Ur., Bang. *dē*, Hindi *dēō*, *dēū*, Panj., Sindhī *dēu*, Gyp. *devēl*, *del*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēnaiti* 'sees,' Old Pers. *vaināhy*, Phl. *vēnať*, New Pers. *bīnad*, Wāxī, Šiyn. *vīnam*, Sarq. *vainam*, Afγ. *vīnam*, Dig. Oss. *vinun*, Tag. *unin*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *yav*, *jav*, New Pers. *jav*, Sīv. *yu*, Zaf. *yah*, Kāš. *ya*, Kuhr. *yah*, Šiyn. *yavaj*, Sarq. *yangj*, Yaγn. *yau*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Mukrī *yō*, Oss. *yau*. Av. *avivanta* 'bevomited,' archaic New Pers. *vāmītan*, Dig. Oss. *vomun*, Tag. *ūmin*.

$v > k$ .

§ 366. The change of *v* to *k* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *varəda* 'plant,' Phl. *vartā*, *gul*, New Pers. *gul* 'rose,' Samn. *vāla*, Kurd. *kulilk*.

$v > g$ .

§ 367. The change of  $v$  to  $g$  occurs regularly before  $u$  in Pāzand and New Persian.

b. Iranian. Av. *vītarəta* 'crossed,' Old Pers. *viyatarayāma*, Phl. *vitārtanō*, New Pers. *guḏaštan*, Gab. *vadārta*, Vōn. *baidor-nan*, Kuhr. *baudarnādan*, Kurd. *buhūrtin*, *bahārtin*. Av. *vəhrka* 'wolf,' Phl., New Pers. *gurg*, Kāš. *var(g)*, Māz. *vurg*, Yidg. *vury*, Yaʿn. *aurak*, Afγ. *lūg*, Bal. *gvark*, *gurk*, N. Bal. *gurkh*, Kurd. *varg*, Dig. Oss. *bēray*, Tag. *bīray*. Av. *varətata* 'surrounding,' Phl. *vaštanō*, *gaštanō*, New Pers. *gāštan*, Gab. *vāštmūn*, Sarq. *γirsam*, Kurd. *gariyān*. Av. *vərəzjeiti* 'does,' Phl. *varz* 'agriculture,' New Pers. *barz*, Judaeo-Pers. *varz*, Kurd. *gūrān*. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vīstā*, *vīs(sā)*, Wāxī *vīst*, Sarq. *vīst*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaǰ*.

It is to be noted also that Old Pers. *vi* > Mid. Pers. *\*vu* > Pāz., New Pers. *gu*, and that Old Pers. *\*vγ* > Mid. Pers. *\*vur* > Pāz., New Pers. *gur*.

$v > gh, \gamma$ .

§ 368. The change of  $v$  to  $gh, \gamma$ , is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *varətata* 'surrounding,' Sarq. *γirsam*, etc. (see preceding §).

$v > gv$ .

§ 369. The change of  $v$  to  $gv$  is regular initially before  $a$ -vowels in Balūci.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *gvās*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *vəhrka* 'wolf,' Bal. *gvark*, *gurk*, etc. (see § 367). Old Pers. *vasiy* 'much,' Phl. *vas*, New Pers. *bas*, Kāš. *vas*, Bal. *gvas*.

$v > n$ .

§ 370. The change of  $v$  to  $n$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *navanavati* 'ninety-nine,' Bihārī *ninānabē* (assimilation).

$v > ph, f$ .

§ 371. The change of  $v$  to  $ph, f$ , is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *ava* 'this,' Pāz. *ō*, New Pers. *av*, *ō*, Kurd. *af*, *ava*, *āv*.

*v > b*.

§ 372. The change of *v* to *b* is extremely common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects (cf. the converse change of *b* to *v*, § 308).

a. Indian. Skt. *suvr̥ṣṭi* 'abundance of rain,' Pāli *subbuṭṭhi*. Skt. *vaspa* 'tear, vapor,' Prāk. *bapp(h)a* 'smoke,' *bāha* 'tear,' Śāur. Prāk., Pāli *bappa*, Ass. *bhāp*, Kāśm. *bāha*, Ur., Bang. *bhāp*, E. Hindī *bā(n)ph*, Hindī *bā(n)ph*, *bhāph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *bāph*, Guj. *bā(n)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *vēṣṭa* 'enclosure,' Pāli *vēṭhaka*, Ass. *bēr*, Nāip. *bār*, Kāśm. *vār*, *vāḍ*, Ur. *bēḍhā*, *bhēḍā*, Bang. *bēḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *bēḍhā*, Sindhī *vaḍēhō*, Mult. *vēr̥hā*, Mar. *vēḍhā*. Skt. *puravāsin* 'citizen,' Bihārī *purabāsī*. Skt. *vṛddha* 'large,' Prāk. *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuddha*, Pāli *buddha*, *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Ass. *bar*, Nāip. *barō*, Kāśm. *bor*, *boḍ*, Ur., Bang. *baḍa*, E. Hindī *barā*, *barā*, *baddā*, Hindī *baḍā*, Panj. *vaḍḍā*, W. Panj. *baḍḍā*, Sindhī *vaḍḍō*, Guj. *vaḍḍō*, Gyp. *baro*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *virala* 'thin,' Sinh. *burul*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl. *vēt*, New Pers. *bēd*, Gab. *vīd*, Kāš. *vīd*, *vēt*, Afγ. *vala*, N. Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *bī*, *vī*. Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' New Pers. *bīst*, etc. (see § 367). Av. *vāta* 'wind,' New Pers. *bād*, Kurd. *bā*, *vai*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *vāra* 'rain,' Phl. *vārān*, New Pers. *bārān*, Gab. *bavāra*, Kāš. *vōrān*, Māz. *vāriš*, Wāxī *vūr*, Sarq. *varaij*, *varaša*, Afγ. *varyaḡ*, *varyaz*, Kurd. *bārī(n)*, Lurī, Zaza *varān*, Dig. Oss. *vārun*, Tag. *varin*. Av. *vana* 'tree,' Phl. *van*, New Pers. *bun*, Afγ. *vana*, Bal. *gvan*, *gōn*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Av. *husravah* 'having fair fame,' Phl. *hūs-rōb*, New Pers. *xusrav*.

*v > bh*.

§ 373. The change of *v* to *bh* is quite common in the Indian dialects, being the sound considered in the preceding paragraph further influenced by a neighbouring sibilant, aspirate or *h*.

a. Indian. Skt. *vaṣpa* 'tear, vapor,' Ass. *bhāp*, U<sub>r</sub>. Bang., *bhāp*, Hindī *bhāph*, *bā(ṇ)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vṛṣṭa* 'enclosure,' U<sub>r</sub>. *bhṛḍā*, *bṛḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

*v > m.*

§ 374. The change of *v* to *m* is not common in the Indian dialects, while in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yāvat* 'how long,' *tāvat* 'so long,' Apab. Prāk. *jāma*, *jāim*, *jāmahim*, *tāma*, *tāum*, *tāmahim*, Pāli *yāva*, *tāva*. Skt. *vāśravāṇa* nom. prop., Jaina Prāk. *vāsamaṇa*. Skt. *viññaptika* 'request,' Bang. *minati*, E. Hindī *mintī*, Hindī *minnat*, *bintī*, Panj. *minnat*, Sindhī *minti*. Skt. *nava* 'nine,' Prāk. *ṇava*, Pāli *nava*, Kāśm. *nāu(ṇ)*, U<sub>r</sub>. *naa*, Bang. *nay*, Bihārī, Hindī *nāu*, Panj. *nāuṇ*, *naūṇ*, Sindhī *naṇvaṇ*, Guj., Mar. *nav*, Sinh. *nama*, *nava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pairi* 'around' + √*varəz* 'do,' New Pers. *parvāz* 'plough,' Bux. *parmāz*. Skt. *vartikā* 'partridge,' Phl. *varṭak*, New Pers. *vardij*, Wāxī *volc*, Afy. *maraz*, *nvaraz*, Bal. *gvardāg*, Kurd. *vardī*.

*v > y.*

§ 375. The apparent change of *v* to *y* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects (cf. the following §).

a. Indian. Skt. *pravartati* 'proceeds,' Prāk. *payatṭai*. Skt. *divā* 'by day,' Jaina Prāk. *diyā*. Skt. *dāva* 'forest,' Pāli *dāya*. Skt. *dēvaru* 'brother-in-law,' Prāk. *dēara*, *diara*, *dēvara*, U<sub>r</sub>. *dēyara*, *dēyura*, Bang. *dēyar*, Hindī, Panj. *dēvar*, Sindhī *ḍēru*, Guj. *dēr*, *dēur*, Mar. *dēvar*, *dīr*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jutanō* 'gnaw,' New Pers. *jāvīdan*, Afy. *žōyal*, *žōval*, Bal. *jāyag*, N. Bal. *jāy*, Kurd. *jū(i)n*.

*Syncope of v.*

376. Syncope of *v* is not common in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīva* 'life,' Prāk. *jīa*, Pāli *jīva*. Skt. *divasa*

'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Jaina Prāk., Pāli *divasa*, Sindhī *ḍim̐hu*, Mar. *divas*, Sinh. *davas*, *divas*. Skt. *trayōviṃśati* 'twenty-three,' Prāk. *tēvisa*, Pāli *tēvisa(tī)*, Bihārī *tēis*, and similarly the other New Ind. dialects, excepting Sindhī *ṭrēvīli*, Guj. *trēvīs*, Mar. *tēvis*. Skt. *upaviṣṭa* 'seated,' Prāk. *ubaviṭṭha*, *uvaṭṭha*, Pāli *upaviṭṭha*, Hindī, Panj. *bāiṭh*, Guj. *bēś*, Mar. *bēṭhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *gāv* 'cow,' Phl., New Pers. *gāv*, *gō*, Zaf., Kāš., Vōn. *gō*, Kuhr. *gōb*, Wāxī *γau*, *γū*, Šiyn. *žāv*, Sarq. *žao*, Sangl. Minj. *γao*, Yaɣn. *gova*, Afɣ. *γvā*, Bal. *gōk*, N. Bal. *gōx*, Kurd. *gā*, Dig. Oss. *γog*, Tag. *qūg*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Sīv. *yu*, Kāš. *ya*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, Mukri *yō*, etc. (see § 365). Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaʃ*, etc. (see § 367). Av. *baēvara* 'ten thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *bēvar*, Dig. Oss. *bēura*, *bēra*, Tag. *bira*.

### *Prothesis of v.*

§ 377. Prothetic *v* occurs occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ucyatē* 'is said,' Prāk. *vuccaī*, Śāur., Māg. Prāk. *vuccadi*, Pāli *vuccati*. Skt. *ukta* 'said,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar) *vuta*. Skt. *uṣita* 'inhabited' beside *vasita*, Pāli *vuttha*, *vusita*.

b. Iranian. Av. *azəm* 'I,' Old Pers. *adam*, Tāl. *az*, Wāxī, Šiyn. *vuz*, Sarq. *vaz*, Yidg. *zuh*, Afɣ. *za*, Kurd., Oss. *az*. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Wāxī *hāθ*, Šiyn. *vašt*, Sarq. *voxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yaɣn. *uxs*, Afɣ. *ata*, Oss. *asth*. Gk. *ὠόν* 'egg,' Lat. *ovum*, Phl. *xāyak*, New Pers. *xāyah*, Gab. *vuk*, Afɣ. *hā*, Bal. *haik*, Kurd. *ha'ik*, *hī*, *hēk*, Oss. *aikh(a)*.

### *Epenthesis of v.*

§ 378. Epenthetic *v* is of rare occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *chāya* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhā*, *chāyā*, Pāli *chāyā*, Ur. *chāhina*, Hindī *chānv*, *chām(h)*, *chāom*, Panj. *cā(ū)m*, Sindhī *chānv*, *chām*, Guj. *cāny*.



$\check{a}v\check{a} > \bar{a}$ .

§ 379. The loss of Indo-Iranian *v*, which has been noted in § 376, gives rise to various contractions in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The contraction of  $\check{a}v\check{a}$  to  $\bar{a}$  occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *prabhavāmi* 'am able,' Prāk. *pabhavaṛi*, Pāli *pabhavāmi*, Gāthā *prabhāmi*. Skt. *sambhavanti* 'are able,' Prāk. *sambhavaṛi*, Pāli *sambhavati*, Gāthā *sambhānti*.

b. Iranian. Av. *srāvayeiti* 'chants,' Phl. *srāyaṭ*, New Pers. *srāyad*, Wāxī *širavam*, Sarq. *našravam*. Av. *bavāt* 'may be,' New Pers. *bād*.

$ava > \check{u}$ .

§ 380. The contraction of *ava* to  $\check{u}$  occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kaśm., Ur. Bang. *nūn*, *lōṇ*, Bihārī *lōn*, *nōn*, Hindī *nūn*, *lūn*, *nōn*, Panj. *nūṇ*, Sindhī *lūṇu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lōṇā*, Gyp. *lon*. Skt. *avajñā* 'contempt,' Pāli *uññā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *avasthita* 'firm,' New Pers. *ustām*, *ōstām*.

$ava > \bar{e}$ .

§ 381. The contraction of *ava* to  $\bar{e}$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *avalambati* 'hangs down,' Elu *elabanavā*, Siñh. *ellanavā*, *elvān*, *olambu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *navani* 'nine,' Old Pers. *navama*, Pāz., New Pers. *nuh*, Kāš. *muhdō*, Tāt *nüf*, Wāxī, Šiyn. *nao*, Sarq. *nav*, Sangl., Minj. *nao*, Yayn. *nau*, Kurd. *nēh*.

$ava > \bar{o}$ .

§ 382. The contraction of *ava* to  $\bar{o}$  is the normal one to which *ava* is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kaśm., Ur., Bang. *lōṇ*, *nūn*, Bihārī *nōn*, *lōn*, Hindī *nōn*, *lūn*, *nūn*, Panj. *nūṇ*,



Sindhī *lūnu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lōṇā*. Skt. *bhavati* 'becomes,' Prāk. *hōi*, Śaur. Prāk. (b)*hōdi*, (b)*huvadi*, (b)*havadi*, Māg. Prāk. (b)*havaṛi*, *huraṛi*, Apab. Prāk. *hōdi*, Pāis. Prāk. *bhōti*, Pāli *bhavati*, *hōti*, Gāthā *bhōti*, New Ind. dialects *hō*, excepting U<sub>r</sub>. *hē*, Sindhī *hua*, Skt. *samavasṛṣṭa* 'assembled,' Jāina Prāk. *samōsaḍha*, Pāli *samōsaṭa*. Skt. *avāra* 'lower,' Pāli *ōra*. Skt. *avavāda* 'counsel,' Pāli *ōvāda*, Sinh. *ovā*. Skt. *avaśyāya* 'hoar-frost,' Bang. *ōṣ*, Hindī, Panj., Guj. *ōs*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pravatā* 'downwards,' Phl. *frōt*, New Pers. *furōd*, Sarq. *prōd*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *nōk*, *navak*, Pāz., New Pers. *nō*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Tag. Oss. *nvog*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *avaḍa* 'there,' Old Pers. *avadā*, Bal. *ōdā*, N. Bal. *ōdā*, Tag. Oss. *vad*. Av. *navaiti* 'ninety,' Phl. *navat*, New Pers. *navad*, Afγ. *navē*, Kurd. *nōt*, *nūd*.

*āva > au*.

§ 383. The contraction of *āva* to *au* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhavala* 'white,' Apab. Prāk. *dhavalu*, U<sub>r</sub>., Bang. *dhalā*, Hindī *dhāulā*, Sindhī *dhāumirō*, Guj. *dhōlum*, Mar. *dhavā*, *dhaval*. Skt. *avatāra* 'descent,' Pāli *ōtāra*, *avatāra*, Sindhī *āutāru*, *avatār*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Sarq. *yaugj*, Yaγn. *yau*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Oss. *yau*, etc. (see § 365). Av. *syāva* 'black,' Phl. *siyāk*, *siyāh*, New Pers. *siyāh*, Wāxī *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, Oss. *sau*.

*avi > ē*.

§ 384. The contraction of *avi* to *ē* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaviṣyē* 'I shall be,' Gāthā *bhēṣyē*. Skt. *sthavira* 'monk,' Prāk. *thēra*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *thāira*, Pāli *thēra*, Mar. *thēr*(*aḍā*).

*avi > āi*.

§ 385. The contraction of *avi* to *āi* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthavira* 'monk,' Prāk. *thāira* (inscriptions of Girnar), *thēra*, etc. (see preceding §).

*āva* > *ō*.

§ 386. The contraction of *āva* to *ō* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *zavarō* 'might,' Phl. *gōr(ih)*, New Pers. *zōr*.

*āway* > *ē*, *ai*.

§ 387. The contraction of *āway* to *ē*, *ai*, is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kāvaya* 'royal,' Phl. *kē*, *kai*, Pāz., New Pers. *kai*.

*āvi* > *ā*.

§ 388. The contraction of *āvi* to *ā* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *āviṣṛta* 'manifest,' Phl. *āṣkārāk*, New Pers. *āṣkār(ā)*, *āṣkārāh*, Afγ. *ākāra*.

*ivā* > *ō*.

§ 389. The contraction of *ivā* to *ō* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prativāsin* 'neighbour,' New Indian dialects *parōsī*, *paḍōsī*, *parōsī*.

*ivē* > *ō*.

§ 390. The contraction of *ivē* to *ō* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prativēṣayati* 'distributes,' Bihārī *parōsāi*.

*īva* > *ī*.

§ 391. The contraction of *īva* to *ī* is quite frequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *jvaiti* 'lives,' Old Pers. *jīvāhy*, Phl. *zīvas-tanō*, New Pers. *zīstan*, Kurd. *zīn*, *zīin*. Phl. *dīpīvar* 'scribe,' *dīpīr(ih)*, New Pers. *dībīr*.

*ēvā* > *ī*.

§ 392. The contraction of *ēvā* to *ī* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Mar. *dīr*, *dēvar*, etc. (see § 375).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *dēvānah* 'bedevilled,' Kurd. *dīn*.

*uva* > *ā*.

§ 393. The contraction of *uva* to *ā* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *yvan* 'youth,' Phl. *yuvān*, New Pers. *juvān-mard*, Kurd. *jānmardī*.

*uva* > *ū*, *ō*.

§ 394. The contraction of *uva* to *ū*, *ō*, is the normal one to which *uva* is subject.

b. Iranian. Iran. \**vadhuvakā* 'bride,' New Pers. *bayō(g)*, Kurd. *būk*. Av. *drvatāt* 'health,' Phl. *drūt*, Pāz. *durūd*, New Pers. *durūd*.

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*ś* = *ś*.

§ 395. Indian *ś* is retained but seldom in the Indian dialects. In the Middle Indian dialects the Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, Avantikā, and Śākārī alone preserve *ś*. Of the New Indian dialects Gujarātī and Marāṭhī often retain *ś*, although great confusion in the use of *ś* and *s* prevails. Hindī and Sindhī indeed write *ś*, but pronounce the *ś* as *s*, while in Bangālī *ś* is pronounced *ṣ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *sa(y)a*, Pāis. Prāk. *sata*, Māg. Prāk. *śada*, Pāli *sata*, Ass. *sa*, Kaśm. *hat*, Ur. *śaē*, Bang. *śaya*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhī *sāu*, Guj. *śō*, Mar. *śēm*, *śambhar*, Guj. *šel*. Skt. *śīṛsa* 'head,' Prāk. *sīsa*, *sissa*, Pāli *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sīsī*, Guj. *śīs*, Mar. *śī(n)s*, Eḷu *hisa*, Sinh. *isa*, *iha*. Skt. *aśīti* 'eighty,' Prāk. *asīi*, Pāli *asīti*, Ass. *ṣīt*, Kaśm. *śīth*, Ur. *asī*, Bang. *āśī*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *assī*, Sindhī *asī*, Guj. *ēmsī*, Mar. *ēmśī*. Skt. *dēśīya* 'native,' Pāli *dēsīya*, Ur., Bang. *dēśī(ya)*, Hindī, Panj. *dēsī*, Sindhī *ḍēsī*, *ḍēhāi*, Guj., Mar. *dēsī*.

*ś* > *ch*.

§ 396. The change of *ś* to *ch* occurs quite frequently in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāvaka* 'young animal,' Prāk. *chāvaa*, Pāli *chāpa*, Ur. *ch(u)ā*, Bang. *chā(n)*, Hindī *chōkaḍā*, Panj. *chōkaḍā*, *chōharā*, Sindhī *chōkaḍō*, Guj. *chāvō*, *chōkarō*, Mar. *chāvaḍā*, Gyp.

*chavō*. Skt. *śakṛt* 'once,' Pāli *chakam*. Skt. *śēṣa* 'end,' Prāk., Pāli *sēsa*, Guj. *chēvat*, *chēḍō*, *chellō*. Skt. *śaṇa* 'hemp,' Ur. *chaṇa*, Bang. *chana*.

*ś > ḍ*.

§ 397. The change of *ś* to *ḍ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāka* 'pot-herb,' Pāli *ḍāka*, *sāka*, Kaśm. *hāk* (cf. Skt. *ḍākinī* 'sort of female demon' beside *śākinī*).

*ś > y*.

§ 398. The change of *ś* to *y* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dvādaśanavārṣa* 'twelfth year,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *barayavaṣa*, (Dhauḷi, Jaugada) *duvādasa-vāsa*, (Girnār) *dvādasavasa*, (Khālsi) *duvāḍasāvasa*.

*ś > v*.

§ 399. The change of *ś* to *v* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *paraśu* 'axe,' Māhār. Prāk. *parasu*, Sinh. *porava*, Maladive *furō*. [Really syncope of *ś* (cf. § 402).]

*ś > s*.

§ 400. The change of *ś* to *s* is the regular one to which Indian *ś* is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects with the exception of the dialects already noted in § 395.

a. Indian. Skt. *śōbhati* 'is beautiful,' Prāk. *sōhaṛ*, Pāis. Prāk. *sōbhati*, Pāli *sobbhati*. Skt. *śuśruṣā* 'obedience,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Shāhbāzgarhi and Kapur di Giri) *suśruṣā*, Pāli *sussusā*. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *sa(y)a*, Pāis. Prāk., Pāli *śata*, Ass. *sa*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhī *sāu*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *aśīti* 'eighty,' Prāk. *asīi*, Pāli *asīti*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *assī*, Sindhī *asī*, Guj. *emsī*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *śilā* 'stone,' Prāk. *silā*, Māg. Prāk. *śilā*, Pāli *silā*, Ur. *śīla*, Bang. *śil*, Hindī *sil*, Panj. *siḷ*, Sindhī *sir*, Mar. *siḷ*.

*ś > h*.

§ 401. The change of *ś* to *h* is quite common in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *daśa* 'ten,' Prāk. *daha*, *dasa*, Pāli *dasa*, Kāśm. *dah*, Ur., Bang. *daś*, *das*, Hindī *das*, Panj. *dah*, *das*, Sindhī *dah*, Guj. *das*, Mar. *dahā*, Sinh. *dahaya*, *dasa*, Gyp. *deš*. Skt. *śvaśura* 'father-in-law,' Pāli *sasura*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *sasur*, Panj. *sahurā*, *sāuharā*, Sindhī *sahurō*, Guj., Mar. *sāsarā*, Maladive *hurs*, Gyp. *saštrō*, *sasrō*. Skt. *paśu* 'cattle,' Hindī (Doab, Oude) *pōhē*. Skt. *kēśari* 'lion,' Prāk., Pāli *kēsari*, Bihārī *kēharī*, *kēsari*, Hindī *kēharī*, Panj. *kēhar*, Sindhī *kēharī*, Guj. *kēsari*. Skt. *pāśa* 'noose,' Prāk., Pāli *pāsa*, Hindī *pās*, *phāms*, Panj. *pāh*, Sindhī *phāhī*, *phāsī*, Guj. *pās*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Eḷu *hisa*, etc. (see § 395).

*Apocope and syncope of ś.*

§ 402. The loss of an initial or internal Indian ś occurs frequently in the Sinhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Sinh. *isa*, *iha*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *śṛṅga* 'horn,' Prāk., Pāli *siṅga*, Hindī *siṅg*, Mar. *śiṅg*, Eḷu *samgu*, *aṅgu*, Sinh. *aṅga*, *si(n)gu*, *suṅgu*. Skt. *śīśira* 'cold,' Prāk., Pāli *sisira*, Sinh. *āl*, *hāl*. Skt. *laśuna* 'onion,' Pāli *lasuna*, Sinh. *lānu*.

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$$\S = \S.$$

§ 403. The retention of Indian § is found only in Kāśmīrī, Uriya, and Bangālī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōḷaha*, Pāli *sōḷasa*, *sōrasa*, Kāśm. *ṣurāh*. Ur. *sōhala*, Bang. *ṣōla*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindī *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhī *sōrahaṁ*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*, Sinh. *soḷosa*. Skt. *mūṣa* 'mouse,' Ur. *mūṣā*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *mūsā*, Gyp. *muṣō*.

$$\S > kh.$$

§ 404. In Hindī and Panjābī, as well as in other New Indian dialects in sporadic instances, Indian § is pronounced *kh*, even if § be retained in script.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāṣā* 'vernacular,' Prāk., Pāli *bhāsā*, Nāip.

*bhās*, *bhākkā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *bhākhā*. Skt. *mānuṣa* 'man,' Prāk., Pāli *mānusa*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *mānukh*, Sindhī *mānukhu*, Gyp. *manuṣ*.

In the tadbhava forms of these semitatsamas we find, as we should expect, *bhāsā*, *mānus*, etc.

§ > *ch*.

§ 405. The change of § to *ch* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṣ* 'six,' Prāk., Pāli *cha*, Kaśm. *ṣah*, *śih*, Ur. *chaa*, Bang. *chaya*, Bihārī *cha*, Hindī *cha*, *chē*, Panj. *chē*, Sindhī *cha(h)*, Guj. *cha*, Mar. *sah(ā)*, Old Sinh. *caka*, Sinh. *haya*, *saya*, Gyp. *ṣo(v)*. Skt. *ṣaṭpada* 'bee,' Prāk. *chappaa*, Jāina Prāk. *chappaya*.

§ > *y*.

§ 406. The apparent change of § to *y* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *karīṣa* 'dry cow-dung,' Prāk., Pāli *karīsa*, Sinh. *kiriya* (cf. § 422).

§ > *ś*.

§ 407. The change of § to *ś* occurs only in Middle Indian, where it is due to learned influence.

a. Indian. Skt. *anvēṣanti* 'they seek,' Māg. Prāk. *aṇṇēṣanti*. Skt. *ālabbhiṣyanti* 'they will be immolated,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *arabhiṣanti* (cf. the parallel passages *ārabhiṣamrē* Girnar, *ālābhāyisanti* Dhauli, *ālabbhiyisanti* Jaugada, *ālābbhiyisanti* Khālsi).

§ > *s*.

§ 408. The change of § to *s* is the normal one to which Indian § is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōlaha*, Pāli *sōlasa*, *sōrasa*, Ur. *sōhala*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindī *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhī *sōraham*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*, Sinh. *soḷosa*, etc. (see § 403). Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sām̐r*, Bang. *ṣām̐r*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sām̐r*, Panj. *sām̐dh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Mult. *sām̐h*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sām̐d*. Skt. *vṛṣabha* 'bull,' Prāk. *vasaha*,



*usaha*, Pāli *vasabha*. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk., Pāli *purisa*, Bang. *puruṣ*, Hindī *purīṣ*, semitatsama *purukh*.

ṣ > h.

§ 409. The change of ṣ to h is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ekaṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-one,' Jāina Prāk. *ēgahaṭṭhi*, *ēgasatṭhi*, *ēgayatṭhi*, *ēgavatṭhi*, *ēgatṭhi*, Kāśm. *ekahāiṭh*, Panj. *ikāhaṭ*, Sindhī *ekahaṭhi*. Skt. *viṣa* 'poison,' Prāk., Pāli *visa*, Panj. *bih*, *bis*, Sindhī *vihu*.

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s = ṣ.

§ 410. Indo-Iranian s is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects, while in the Iranian dialects Indo-Iranian s normally becomes h. Iranian s, arising from Indo-Germanic *ḥ* (Old Indian *ś*, see also §§ 395–402), remains unchanged in most cases in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptan* 'seven,' Prāk., Pāli *satta*, Kāśm. *sath*, Ur., Bang. *sāta* (pron. *ṣatō*), Bihārī, Hindī *sāt*, Panj. *satt*, Sindhī *sat*, Guj., Mar. *sāt*. Skt. *siṃha* 'lion,' Prāk. *sīha*, Māhār. Prāk. *siṃgha*, *siṃha*, Pāli *sīha*, Hindī, Panj. *siṃgh*, Sindhī *siṃghō*, *śiṃhu*, other New Ind. dialects *siṃh*. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Prāk., Pāli *kappāsa*, Ur. *kapā*, Bang. *kāpās*, Hindī *kapās*, Panj., Sindhī *kapāh*, Guj., Mar. *kāpūs*. Skt., Pāli *atasī* 'linseed,' Ur. *tēsī*, Bang. *tiśī*, E. Hindī *tīsī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarah* 'head,' Phl., New Pers. *sar*, Wāxī, Sangl., Minj. *sar*, Afy., Bal., Kurd., Oss. *sar*. Av. *sarata* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Gab. *sart*, Wāxī *sūr(i)*, Sarq. *pat-soram*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*. Av. *kasu* 'small,' Phl. *kas*, Pāz. *kah*, New Pers. *kīh*, Gab. *kasūk*, Zaf., Kāš. *kas*, Vōn. *kassar*, Nāy. *kas*, Afy. *kašr*, Bal. *kas(s)ān*, Oss. *khashthar*. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, Wāxī *das*, *las*, Šīyn. *ḏīs*, *līs*, Sarq. *ḏēs*, Sangl. *das*, Yidg. *lus*, Yayn. *das*, Afy. *las*, Kurd. *dav*, Zaza *das*, Oss. *das(am)*. Av. *paēsa* 'leprosy,' Old Pers. *πασάyas*, Phl. *pēsak*, New Pers. *pēs*, Gab. *pīšk*, Afy. *pēs(ai)*, Kurd. *pīs(aj)*.

$s > ch$ .

§ 411. The change of *s* to *ch* is a very rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *sudhā* 'ambrosia,' Prāk. *chuhā*, Pāli *sudhā*. Skt. *sirā* 'vein,' Prāk. *chirā*, *sirā*, Pāli *sirā*. Skt. *sūtradhāra* 'carpenter,' Uṛ., Bang. *chutār* (pron. *sutār*). Skt. *siṅcati* 'sprinkles,' Prāk. *siṁcāi*, Pāli *siṅcati*, Bihārī *chūmcāi*, *siṁcāi*, Mar. *siṁcaṇēm*.

$s > j(h)$ .

§ 412. The change of *s* to *j(h)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *haṁsa* 'goose,' Prāk., Pāli *haṁsa*, Hindi *hāms*, Sindhī *hamj(h)u*, Sinh. *has*.

$s > t$ .

§ 413. The change of *s* to *t* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sax<sup>v</sup>ārō* 'word,' Phl. *saxun*, New Pers. *suxun*, Sīv. *tuxun*, Kāš. *suxan*. Gr. *κόπος* 'satiety,' New Pers. *sēr*, Kurd. *tēr* (Justi, Kurd. Gramm. 64, compares also the Av. ἀπ. λεγ. *θātairi*, Yt. x, 14).

$s > th, \theta$ .

§ 414. The change of *s* to *th, \theta*, occurs frequently only in Old Persian.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Wāxī *sōkr*, Afγ. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Gr. *κόπος* 'satiety,' Av. *θātairi*, etc. (? see preceding §).

$s > d$ .

§ 415. The change of *s* to *d* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sahasra* 'thousand,' Prāk., Pāli *sahassa*, Kāšm. *sās*, Bihārī *sahasar*, Sindhī *sahasu*, Sinh. *dahasia*, *das*, *dāha* (*d* for *s* by false analogy with Sinh. *dahaya* 'ten,' Skt. *daśan*, etc.).

$s > v$ .

§ 416. The change of  $s$  to  $v$  is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Kurd. *dav*, etc. (see § 410).

$s > ś$ .

§ 417. The change of  $s$  to  $ś$  is very rare. In East Hindī  $ś$  is often written for  $s$ , although  $s$  is retained in pronunciation. This lax writing is very frequent in Gujarātī and in Marāṭhī most of all (cf. §§ 395, 400). The change of  $s$  to  $ś$  is regular in Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, and Śākārī Prākṛit, and the Avantikā Prākṛit also shows numerous examples of this development.

a. Indian. Skt. *vilāsa* 'coquetry,' Māg. Prāk. *vilāśē*, Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *vilāsa*. Skt. *sabhika* 'keeper of a gambling-house,' Māg. Prāk. *śahia*. Skt. *anuśāsana* 'instruction,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *anuśāsaṇa*, Māhār. Prāk. *aṇusāsaṇa*, Pāli *anusāsana*.

$s > ṣ$ .

§ 418. The change of  $s$  to  $ṣ$ , apart from the regular development in Old Indian of  $ṣ$  from  $s$  after  $ī$ ,  $ū$ ,  $ṛ$ ,  $ē$ ,  $ō$ , is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *uyanaṣi* 'in a garden,' beside *uyānaṣi* (inscriptions of Dhauli, Jaugada, Khālsi). Skt. *bhaviṣyāsi* 'thou wilt be,' Gāthā *bhēṣyaṣi*.

$s > ś$ .

§ 419. The change of Iranian  $s$  to  $ś$  is not frequent.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śāṇa* 'whetstone,' New Pers. *sān*, *afsān*, dialectic *šan*, Wāxī, Sarq. *pasān*. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Zaf. *sōzō*, Wāxī *sič*, Sarq. *sič*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sičīn*, N. Bal. *sīšin*, *šišan*, *šišin*, Kurd. *šūžin*, *sužin*. Skt. *śakṛt* 'excrement,' Afγ. *γō-šāk*, *γō-šōē*, N. Bal. *sayan*. Av. *suši* 'lung,' Phl. *suš*, New Pers. *šuš*, Gab. *sus*, Afγ. *sayai*.

*s > z.*

§ 420. The change of *s* to *z* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūrya* 'breakfast,' Phl. *sūr*, New Pers. *surnai* 'trumpet,' Tāt *zurnai*. Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Pāz. *pah*, Tāt *paz*, Wāxī *pus*, *pos*, Sarq. *ṣ(i)ās*, Afy. *psa*, Bal. *pas*, N. Bal. *phas*, Kurd. *paz*, Dig. Oss. *fuss*, Tag. *fiss*. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>asura* 'father-in-law,' New Pers. *xusur*, Wāxī *xurs*, Afy. *sxar*, N. Bal. *vasarik*, Kurd. *xazūr*, *xazīr*, *xaur*.

*s > h.*

§ 421. The change of Indian *s* to *h*, which is very similar to the Iranian *h* developed from Indo-Germanic *s*, where the Old Indian retains *s*, occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects. The change is regular in South-Eastern Bangālī (e. g. Bang. *sakal* 'all,' S.-E. Bang. *hakal*), and it occurs very frequently in Panjābī, Sindhī, and Sinhalese. Iranian *s* becomes *h* only internally in Middle and New Persian.

a. Indian. Skt. *divasa* 'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Śāur., Jāina Prāk., Pāli *divasa*, Mar. *divas*, Sinh. *davaha*, *davasa*, Gyp. *divēs*. Skt. *ekasaptati* 'seventy-one,' Kāśm. *akasatath*, Uṛ. *ekastōri*, Bang. *ekattar*, Bihārī *ekahattar*, Hindī *ikahattar*, Panj. *ikhattar*, Sindhī *ekahatari*, Guj. *ikōtēr*, Mar. *ekahattar*, cf. Jāina Prāk. *hattari* 'seventy,' Sinh. *hättāva*, *sättāva*. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Panj., Sindhī *kapāh*, etc. (see § 410). Skt. *sarpa* 'serpent,' Prāk., Pāli *sappa*, Uṛ., Bang. *sāpa*, Hindī *sānp*, Panj. *sapp*, Sindhī *sapu*, Guj., Mar. *sāp*, Sinh. *hapu*, *sapu*, *sap(ā)*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kasu* 'small,' Pāz. *kah*, New Pers. *kīh*, etc. (see § 410). Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, etc. (see § 410). Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Pāz. *pah*, etc. (see preceding §).

#### *Aphaeresis and syncope of s.*

§ 422. The loss of initial or internal *s* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sīdati* 'sits,' Prāk. *sīaī*, *saḍai*, Pāli *sīdati*, Sinh. *imḍinavā*, *hindinavā*. Skt. *prasāda* 'favour,' Mahār. Prāk. *pasāya*, Pāli *pasāda*, Sinh. *pāya*.

b. Iranian. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>asura* 'father-in-law,' Kurd. *xaur*, *xazūr*, *xazīr*, etc. (see § 420).

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$\text{š} = \text{ś}$ .

§ 423. Iranian  $\text{š}$  remains in general unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Bahb. *sud*, Wāxī *cauam*, Šiyn. *sārum*, Sarq. *sōm*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuṭa*, Kurd. *cīan*, *cūn*, Oss. *čaun*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šir., Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Šiyn., *γūž*, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afy. *γvaž*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*. Av. *raēšah* 'wound,' Phl., New Pers. *rēš*, Afy. *raš*.

$\text{š} > c, \check{c}$ .

§ 424. The change of  $\text{š}$  to *c*, *č*, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Wāxī *cauam*, Kurd. *cīan*, *cūn*, Oss. *čaun*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{š} > j$ .

§ 425. The change of  $\text{š}$  to *j* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baēšaza* 'physician,' Phl. *bējašk*, *bijašk*, *bēšazak*, New Pers. *bijišk*, *bizišk*.

$\text{š} > l$ .

§ 426. The change of  $\text{š}$  to *l* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Sarq. *γaul*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *šupuš*, Wāxī *šiš*, Sarq. *spal*, Afy. *spaža*, Kurd. *sipi*, *aspē*, Oss. *sisth*.

$\text{š} > s$ .

§ 427. The change of  $\text{š}$  to *s* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Bahb. *sud*, Šiyn. *sārum*, Sarq. *sōm*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *suši* 'lung,' Phl. *suš*, New Pers. *šuš*, Gab. *sus*, Afy. *sayai*. New Pers. *šūr* 'salt,' Šiv. *sūr*, Bal. *sūrag*, N. Bal. *šōray*, *sōr*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*.

š > z.

§ 428. The change of š to z occurs very seldom.

b. Iranian. Phl. *šekam* 'belly,' New Pers. *šikam*, *iškam*, Kurd. *zik*. Av. *xšvaš* 'six,' Phl. *šaš(um)*, New Pers. *šaš*, Wāxī *šād*, *šāl*, Šiyn. *xauš*, Afy. *špaž*, Oss. *axsaz*.

š > ž.

§ 429. The change of š to ž is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Šiyn. *γūž*, Afy. *γvaž*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *arōša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šiyn. *yūrš*, Sarq. *yürx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaž*, Kurd. *hirš*, *hirc*, *virc*, Oss. *ars*. Av. *kušaiti* 'kills,' Phl. *kuštanoš*, New Pers. *kuštan*, Kurd. *bukužim*.

š > h.

§ 430. The change of š to h is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *rēš(ak)* 'beard,' New Pers. *rīš(ak)*, Citrālī *rixīš*, *rikiš*, Wāxī *rēyiš*, Minj. *yarža*, Afy. *žīra*, Kurd. *rēh*, *ri*, Dig. Oss. *rēxē*, Tag. *rīxī*.

### *Apocope of š.*

§ 431. The loss of final š occurs occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Yidg. *γū*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Kurd. *sipi*, *aspē*, etc. (see § 426).

z = z.

§ 432. Iranian z remains in general unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *zānu* 'knee,' Phl. *zānūk*, New Pers. *zānū*, Wāxī *zān*, Sarq. *zūn*, Sangl. *zong*, Afy. *zangūn*, *čangūn*, Bal. *zān*, Kurd. *zāna*, *ažnōh*. Av. *zərōdaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dīl*, Māz. *zīlah*, Gil. *zīl*, Šiyn. *zrād*, *zrāy*, Sarq. *zārd*, Sangl. *uzrāy*, Minj. *zīl*, Afy. *zra*, Bal. *zirdē*, Kurd. *zar*, Oss. *zarda*. Av. *maczonti* 'they make water,' Phl. *mēzūtānō*, New Pers. *mēzī-*



*dan*, Afy. *mītal*, Bal. *mīšay*, *mēzay*, Kurd. *mīztin*, *mīstin*, Dig. Oss. *mēzun*, Tag. *mīzin*. New Pers. *pōz* 'part about the nose,' Gab. *pūz*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afy. *pōza*, *paza*, Bal. *pō(ñ)z*, N. Bal. *phōñz*, Kurd. *pōz*, *pūz*, Dig. Oss. *finja*, Tag. *fiŋg*.

$z > \check{z}$ .

§ 433. The change of *z* to  $\check{z}$  is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *zanva* 'chin,' New Pers. *zanax*, Šiyn. *zingū*, Sarq. *zangān*, Afy. *jana*, *zana*. Afy. *jōē* 'son' beside *zōē* (from  $\sqrt{zan}$  'to be born').

$z > s$ .

§ 434. The change of *z* to *s* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dərza* 'bond,' New Pers. *darz*, Oss. *daras* 'garment.'

$z, \check{z} > \check{s}$ .

§ 435. The change of *z*,  $\check{z}$  to  $\check{s}$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *kāzah* 'hunter's hut,' beside *kāžah*, *kāšah*.

$z > \check{z}$ .

§ 436. The change of *z* to  $\check{z}$  is found occasionally.

b. Iranian. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl., New Pers. *zam*, Wāxī *zam*, Šiyn. *zimj*, *zinj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afy. *žimai*, *zimai*, *jimai*, Dig. Oss. *sumag*, Tag. *zimag*.

$z > h$ .

§ 437. The change of *z* to *h* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāzu* 'arm,' Phl. *bāzih*, *bāzak*, New Pers. *bāzū*, Gab. *bāi*, Kāš. *bōi*, *bōhī*, *bōhū*, Šiv. *bāi*, Xor. *bāhū*, Judaeo-Pers. *bāhūi*.

*Syncope of z.*

§ 438. The loss of internal *z* occurs very rarely in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāzu* 'arm,' Gab. *bāi*, Kāš. *bōi*, *bōhī*, *bōhū*, Šiv. *bāi*, etc. (see preceding §).

$$\text{ž} = \text{ž}.$$

§ 439. Iranian *ž* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, Pāz. *dōžax*, New Pers. *dōzax*, Afγ. *dōžax*, *dōzax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōžē*, Kurd. *dūžē*. Av. *dužaka* 'leech,' Phl. *žūžak*, New Pers. *žūžah*, Gab. *jūjik*.

$$\text{ž} > \gamma.$$

§ 440. The change of *ž* to  $\gamma$  is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' Afγ. *dōyaš*, *dōžax*, *dōzax*, etc. (see preceding §).

$$\text{ž} > j.$$

§ 441. The change of *ž* to *j* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužaka* 'leech,' Gab. *jūjik*, etc. (see § 439).

$$\text{ž} > \text{š}.$$

§ 442. The change of *ž* to *š* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, etc. (see § 439—properly speaking, no change of *ž* to *š* occurs here, since Pahlavi possesses no sign for *ž*, and employs the character for *š* instead).

$$\text{ž} > z.$$

§ 443. The change of *ž* to *z* is the most common one of all those changes to which Iranian *ž* is subject in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' New Pers. *dōzax*, Afγ. *dōzax*, *dōžax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōžē*, etc. (see § 439).

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$$h = h.$$

§ 444. Indian *h* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects, and Iranian *h* (corresponding to Indian *s*) is, in like manner, retained in most cases in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāt(h)*, Kaśm. *ath*, Uṛ. *hāt(h)a*, Bang. *hāt*, Bihārī, Hindī *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhī *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, Mar. *hāt*, Sinh. *ata*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hiā(y)a*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Uṛ., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiāim*, Sindhī *himānu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*. Skt. *mahārga* 'costly,' Pāli *mahagga*, Ass. *mahaṅgā*, *magar*, Nāip. *mahaṅgō*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahaṅgā*, Panj. *mahiṅgā*, Sindhī *mahaṅgō*, Guj. *mōṅghuṁ*, Mar. *mahāg*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *lōha* 'iron,' Uṛ. *lōha*, *luhā*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *lōhā*, Guj., Mar. *lōh*, Sindhī *lōhu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *haēna* 'army,' Old Pers. *hainā*, Phl., Pāz. *hīn*. Av., Old Pers. *hama* 'all,' Phl. *hamak*, Pāz. *hamā*, New Pers. *hamah*, Bal. *hama(k)*, Kurd. *hamū*. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Wāxī *hūb*, *hub*, *ub*, *vūvd*, Šīyn. *vūvd*, Sarq. *ūvd*, Sangl. *haft*, Minj. *ēd*, Yaṛn. *av*, Afγ. *ōva*, *ava*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, Tag. *aft*, *avd*. Old Pers. *θura-vāhara* 'May,' Phl. *vahār*, New Pers. *bahār*, Kāš. *bohōr*, *vōr*, Oss. *vaļjag*.

$h > k$ .

§ 445. The change of *h* to *k* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *hintāla* 'kind of palm,' Pāli *kintāla*, Sinh. *kitul*, *hitul*.

$h > kh, x$ .

§ 446. The change of *h* to *kh, x*, is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects, where it occurs more usually initially than internally or finally.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl. *xušk(īh)*, New Pers. *xušk*, Sīv. *fušk*, Kāš. *huškudan*, *uškudan*, Wāxī *vask*, Yidg. *ūšk*, Afγ. *vuc*, Bal. *hušk*, Kurd. *vūšuk*, Oss. *xusk*. Av. *hū* 'pig,' Phl., New Pers. *xūk*, Wāxī *xūg*, Sarq. *xaug*, Afγ. *xūg*, Bal. *hūk*, N. Bal. *hīx*, Kurd. *xū*, Oss. *xui*. Av. *haētū* 'bridge,' Sarq. *yaiθ*, Yaṛn. *ītk*, Dig. Oss. *xēd*, Tag. *xīd*. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, Pāz. *dōžax*, New Pers. *dōzax*, Afγ. *dōžax*, *dōzax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōžē*, Kurd. *dūžē*.

$h > c$ .

§ 447. The change of  $h$  to  $c$  is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *hamcū* 'as,' Sīv. *camcah* (assimilation).

$h > ph, f$ .

§ 448. The change of  $h$  to  $ph, f$ , is very rare, and it seems to occur only initially.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Sīv. *fušk*, etc. (see § 446).

$h > bh$ .

§ 449. The change of  $h$  to  $bh$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāihāra* nom. prop., Jāina Prak., Pāli *vēbhāra*.

$h > v$ .

§ 450. The change of  $h$  to  $v$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Wāxī *vūvd*, (*h*)*ub*, *hüb*, Šiγn. *vurd*, etc. (see § 444). Av. *huška* 'dry,' Wāxī *vask*, Afγ. *vuc*, Kurd. *vūšuk*, etc. (see § 446).

$h > y, i$ .

§ 451. The vocalization of  $h$  to  $y, i$ , occurs but seldom.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *māh* 'month,' Phl., New Pers. *māh*, Wāxī *māi*, Šiγn. *mast*, Sarq. *mās*, Minj. *yomγa*, Afγ. *maī*, Dig. Oss. *mayā*, Tag. *mai*.

$h > s$ .

§ 452. The change of  $h$  to  $s$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *snāihika* 'oily,' Pāli *snēsika* (but Pāli *s(i)nēha* 'love,' Skt. *snēha*).

$h > š$ .

§ 453. The change of  $h$  to  $š$  is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *namah* 'homage,' Phl. *namāc*, Pāz. *namāš*, New Pers. *namāz*, Afγ. *nmūnǰ*, Bal. *namāš*, *navāš*, Kurd. *nīmīž*, *nīmī*.

$h > z, \check{z}$ .

§ 454. The change of  $h$  to  $z, \check{z}$ , is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Pāz. *namāž*, New Pers. *namāz*, Kurd. *nīmīž*, *nīmī*, etc. (see preceding §).

### *Aphaeresis of h.*

§ 455. The loss of initial  $h$  is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, the phenomenon is not infrequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Kaśm. *ath*, Siṃh. *ata*, etc. (see § 444).

b. Iranian. Av. *hanjamana* 'assembly,' Phl. *anjaman*, *hanjaman*, New Pers. *anjuman*. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Wāxī *ub*, *hub*, *hūb*, *vūvd*, Sarq. *ūvd*, Minj. *ēd*, Yaṣn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, Tag. *aft*, *avd*, etc. (see § 444). Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Kāš. *uškudan*, *huškudan*, Yidg. *ūšk*, etc. (see § 446). Av. *haca* 'from,' Old Pers. *hacā*, Phl. *aj*, New Pers. *az*, *z(i)*, Afy. *ǰ-*, Bal. *ac*, *aš*, Kurd. *až*, *ž(a)*.

### *Syncope of h.*

§ 456. The loss of internal  $h$  is very rare in the Indian dialects, although it is more frequent in the New than in the Middle period. The phenomenon occurs more often in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ihalōka* 'this world,' Prāk. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions) *ialōka*. Skt. *brhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bahapphaī*, *bhayapphaī*, *bihapphaī*, *buhapphaī*, *buhappaī*, *bahassaī*, *bahappaī*, *bhaassaī*, *bhuapphaī*, *bhaspadaī*, Uṛ. *biphāi* 'Thursday,' Bihārī *biphāi*, *bihaphāi*. Skt. *gēhiṇī* 'woman,' Prāk. *ghariṇī*, Siṃh. *gāṇi*, *girini*. Skt. *vṛīhi* 'rice,' Pāli *vīhi*, Siṃh. *vī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *rohuni* 'blood,' Phl., New Pers. *xūn*, Sīv. *fīn*, Wāxī *vuxan*, Šiṣn. *vixīn*, Sarq. *vaxīn*, Sangl. *vain*, Afy. *vīnē*, Kurd. *xēn*. Phl. *dahišn* 'gift,' New Pers., Gab. *dāšn*. Old Pers. *θura-vāhara* 'May,' Kāš. *vōr*, *bohōr*, etc. (see § 444).

*Apocope of h.*

§ 457. The loss of final *h* occurs but rarely.

b. Iranian. Av. *nōmah* 'homage,' Kurd. *nīmī*, *nīmīž*, etc. (see § 453).

*Prothesis of h.*

§ 458. Prothetic *h* is not uncommon in the Middle Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In the New Indian dialects it occurs but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *idānim* 'now,' Prāk. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions) *hidālōkika*, lit. Prāk. *dāni(n)*. Skt. *ēdṛśa* 'of that kind,' Prāk. *ērisa*, (inscriptions of Khālsi) *hēḍisa*. Skt. *atra* 'there,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi) *hētā*, Bang. *hōthā*, *ōthā*. Skt. *ōṣṭha* 'lip,' Prāk., Pāli *otṭha*, Ur. *ōtha*, Bang. *hō(n)ṭh*, Hindī *ōmṭh*, Panj. *hōmṭh*, Guj. *hōṭ*, *ōṭh*, Mar. *ōmṭh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēθrapaiti* 'fire-priest,' Phl. inscriptions *ēhrpaṭ*, lit. Phl. *hērpāṭ*, *ērpāṭ*, New Pers. *hērbud*. Av. *aošah* 'death,' Phl., New Pers. *hōš*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *as(p)a*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Tāt *ās*, Wāxī *yaš*, Minj. *yasap*, Afy. *ās*, Bal. *haps*, *aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *aḥsa*, Tag. *yafs*.

*Epenthesis of h.*

§ 459. Epenthetic *h* is extremely rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *māna* 'measure,' Ur. *mahana*, Hindī *man*, Mar. *man*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jyā* 'bow-string,' Pāz. *jīk*, New Pers. *zih*, Kāš. *yah*, *ža*, Afy. *žāī*, N. Bal. *jīγ*, Kurd. *žih*.



## CONSONANT-GROUPS

§ 460. In the sections dealing with vowels and single consonants, similarity of development, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, has been the rule rather than the exception. In the following paragraphs differences will be found more often than resemblances. Comparatively few consonant-groups have developed in the same way in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The Indian languages have continued the tendency already observable in the Middle Indian. The component sounds of consonant-groups are assimilated, and the resulting repeated consonant is either retained, or one of the letters is dropped with compensatory lengthening of a preceding short vowel. In the Iranian languages, on the other hand, a consonant-group is in the majority of instances softened as a whole, and this secondary consonant-group may be retained without further change in the New Iranian dialects. As a result of these developments with principles which are radically different, consonant-groups in Iranian are less easy to systematize than those in the Indian languages. For the Indian dialects the classification of Beames, *Comparative Grammar*, i. 281-282 (cf. 359-360), into the 'strong, weak, and mixed nexus' is admirable. But since in the Iranian dialects the consonant-group is softened and retained instead of being simplified, such secondary consonant-groups are subject to many tertiary developments. Moreover, it will be seen in many instances noted in the following paragraphs that the component consonants of a consonant-group, in the Middle and New Iranian dialects, may each be modified according to the changes to which they are liable as single consonants.

The essential difference in the treatment of consonant-groups in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects renders the discussion in

the present chapter less satisfactory in results, in some respects, than has been the case with the consideration of the vowels and single consonants. On the other hand, it will not be without interest to note how two closely-related members of the same language-group agree in general in certain parts of their phonology, but at the same time are radically different in other portions of it. Notwithstanding this, the divergent developments of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages are no less instructive than their coincident changes, and a survey of disagreement as well as of agreement is absolutely necessary if a correct knowledge of the entire subject under discussion is to be gained.

$kt > k(k)$ .

§ 461. The assimilation of  $kt$  to  $k(k)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *utkaṇṭhā* 'anxiety,' Prāk. *ukkaṇṭhā*, Pāli *ukkaṇṭhati* 'regrets.' Skt. *mukta* 'released,' Prāk. *mukka*, Pāli *mukka*, *mutta*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śakta* 'able,' Phl., New Pers. *saxt*, Yidg. *sukt*, Bal. *sak*.

$kt > gḍ, \gammaḍ$ .

§ 462. The softening of the consonant-group  $kt$  to  $gḍ, \gammaḍ$ , is not common.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nakta* 'night,' Wāxī *naγḍ*. Skt. *takta* 'swift,' Oss. *thaγḍ*.

$ktz > \gamma z, z\gamma$ .

§ 463. The assimilation of  $ktz$  to  $\gamma z, z\gamma$ , is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxta* 'burned' + *zaranya* 'gold,' Dig. Oss. *suγzarina*, Tag. *sizγarin*.

$kt > t(t)$ .

§ 464. The assimilation of  $kt$  to  $t(t)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhakta* 'boiled rice,' Prāk., Pāli *bhatta*, Kāśm. *bata*, Ur., Bang., E. Hindī, W. Hindī *bhāt*, Panj. *bhatt*,

Sindhī *bhatu*, Guj., Mar. *bhāt*. Skt. *mukta* 'pearl,' Prāk., Pāli *mutta*, Uṛ. *mōti*, Bang. *mōti*, *matī*, *māuktikā*, *muktā*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *mōtī*. Skt. *rakta* 'red,' Prāk., Pāli *ratta*, Uṛ., Bang. *rakta*, Hindī *rāt*, Sindhī *rātō*, Guj. *rātu*, Sinh. *rat*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *puxtanō* 'to cook,' New Pers. *puxtan*, Kāš. *patan*, *pōtan*, Wāxī *pōcam*, Afy. *paravul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Dig. Oss. *ficun*, Tag. *ficin*. Phl. *sōxtanō* 'to burn,' New Pers. *sōxtan*, Māg. *sūt*, Gīl. *sūt*, *sūxt*, Tāl. *sūt*, Afy. *sēzal*, *sējal*, *svajavul*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay*, Kurd. *sōtin*, Bohtanī *suhtin*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *sōjin*.

*kt > pht, ft.*

§ 465. The assimilation of *kt* to *pht, ft*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *yuxta* 'joined,' Phl. *juxt* 'pair,' New Pers. *juft*, Afy. *juxt*, Kurd. *cuxt*. New Pers. *anjūftan* 'to be wrinkled' beside *anjūxtan*.

*kt > ht.*

§ 466. The assimilation of *kt* to *ht* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pakta* 'cooked,' New Pers. *puxtah*, Wāxī *pōšt*, Šīyn. *pašt*, Sarq. *paxt*, Bal. *pakta*, N. Bal. *pahta*, Dig. Oss. *funx(th)*, Tag. *fixth*. Phl. *sōxtanō* 'to burn,' Bohtanī *suhtin*, etc. (see § 464).

*ktr > lkh, lx.*

§ 467. The assimilation of *ktr* to *lkh, lx*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *bāxtri* nom. prop., Phl. *baxr*, New Pers. *balx*.

*ktr > hr.*

§ 468. The assimilation of *ktr* to *hr* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baxdra* 'portion,' Phl., New Pers. *bahr*, *barx*.

*kth > (t)th.*

§ 469. The assimilation of *kth* to *(t)th* is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *siktha* 'beeswax,' Prāk., Pāli *sittha*, Hindī *sīth*, *sīṭh*, Panj. *sēṭh*, *sēṭ*, Mar. *sīt*. Skt. *śakthi* 'thigh,' Pāli *satthi*.

$kn > nm$ .

§ 470. The assimilation of  $kn$  to  $nm$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaknōti* 'is able,' Prāk. *sakkaṛi*, Pāli *sakkati*, *sakkōti*, *sakkunāti*, Hindī *sak*, Sindhī *sagh*, Guj., Mar. *śak*.

$km > m(m)$ .

§ 471. The assimilation of  $km$  to  $m(m)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *rukmarati* 'sort of metre,' Pāli *rummavati*.

b. Iranian. Av. *\*staxma* 'firm' (cf. Av. *staxra*), Phl. *sitahmak*, New Pers. *sitam* 'violence.' Av. *taoxman* 'seed,' Old Pers. *taumā*, Phl. *tōxm*, New Pers. *tuxm*, Gab. *tūm*, Nāy. *tum*, Wāxī *taγm*, Šiγn. *tūγm*, Sarq. *tōγm*, Yidg. *tūγum*, Afγ. *tōma*, Bal. *tūm*, *tōm*.

$km > gm, γm$ .

§ 472. The softening of the consonant-group  $km$  to  $gm, γm$ , is not frequent.

b. Iranian. Av. *taoxmān* 'seed,' Wāxī *taγm*, Šiγn. *tūγm*, Sarq. *tōγm*, Yidg. *tūγum*, etc. (see preceding §).

$km > p(p)$ .

§ 473. The assimilation of  $km$  to  $p(p)$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rukminī* 'Lakṣmī,' Prāk. *ruppiṇī*.

$ky > k(k)$ .

§ 474. The assimilation of  $ky$  to  $k(k)$  occurs occasionally.

a. Indian. Skt. *cāṇakya* nom. prop., Prāk. *cāṇakka*. Skt. *āutsukya* 'zeal,' Pāli *ussukka*. Skt. *trāilōkya* 'the three worlds,' Prāk. *tellokka*, *tēlokka*.

$kr > k(k)$ .

§ 475. The assimilation of  $kr$  to  $k(k)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Prāk., Pāli *cakka*, Ass. *cāk*, Ur. *caka*, Bang. *cākā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *cāk*, Panj. *cakh*, Sindhī *caku*, Guj., Mar. *cāk*, Simh. *sak*, *hak*. Skt. *ājñācakra* 'mystic circle of the body,' Simh. inscriptions *aṇasak*, *aṇasat*.

*kr* > *r(r)*.

§ 476. The assimilation of *kr* to *r(r)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Sīv. *sīr*, Kāš., Kuhr. *sūr*, Wāxī *sōkr*, Šīyn., Sarq. *sīrah*, Yidg. *surkuh*, Afγ. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*.

*kr* > *hr*.

§ 477. The assimilation of *kr* to *hr* is not common.

b. Iranian. Av. *caxra* 'wheel,' New Pers. *carx*, *cahrah*, Kāš. *cōra*, *cūr*, Oss. *čalx*. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, etc. (see preceding §).

*kl* > *l(l)*.

§ 478. The assimilation of *kl* to *l(l)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kliṣṭa* 'sick,' Prāk., Pāli *kiliṭṭha*, Simh. *leḍa*.

*kv* > *k(k)*.

§ 479. The assimilation of *kv* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kaśm. *papi*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, Hindī, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhī *pakō*, Guj. ✓ *pik*, *pak* 'to ripen,' Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*, Gyp. *pako*.

*kṣ* > *k(k)*.

§ 480. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *k(k)* is excessively rare in the Iranian dialects as well as in the Indian dialects, excepting Bangālī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *bubhuksā* 'hunger,' Pāli *bubhukkhati*, Hindī

*bhūkh*, Sindhī *bukhā*, Mar. *bhuk*, Gyp. *bolh*. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Prāk. *khīra*, *chīra*, Pāli *khīra*, Kaf. *zu*, New Ind. dialects *khīr*, Sindh. *kiri*, *kira*, Maladive *kiru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maxši* 'fly,' Phl., New Pers. *magas*, Sīv., Judaeo-Pers. *magaz*, Wāxī *maks*, Minj. *muya*, Afy. *mae*, Bal. *makask*, *magisk*, N. Bal. *mahisk*, Kurd. *miš*.

*kṣ > kkh*.

§ 481. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *kkh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Prāk. *macchiā*, Pāli *makkhikā*, Kāśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Ur. *mā(m)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(m)sī*), Bang. *māchī*, E. Hindī *mā(m)chī*, Hindī *makkhī*, *mā(m)khī*, Panj. *makkhī*, Sindhī *makhī*, Guj. *mākhī*, Mar. *maklū*, *māśī*, Gyp. *makhī*. Skt. *dakṣiṇa* 'southern,' Prāk. *dakkhīṇa*, *dāhiṇa*, Pāli *dakkhīṇa*, Kāśm. *dachan*, Ur. *dāhinā*, *ḍāhāna*, Bang. *ḍāin*, E. Hindī *dachin*, Hindī *dakhin*, *dāhinā*, Panj. *dakkhan*, Sindhī *ḍakhīṇō*, Mar. *ḍākhīṇ*. Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' Prāk., Pāli *pakkha*, Kāśm. *pakh(a)*, E. Bang. *pāhī*, Bang. *pākhī*, Bihārī *panīkh* 'wing,' *pāhīm* 'beside,' *panīchī* 'bird,' Hindī *pākhī*, *pānīchī*, Panj. *pānīchī*, Sindhī *panīgu*, Guj. *pānīchī*, Mar. *pākh*, *pānīchī*, Sindh. *pak*, *pasa*, Gyp. *phak*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' New Pers. *šab*, Kāš. *šav*, Šiyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, Minj. *xšava*, *xašava*, Yidg. *xšurux*, Yayn. *xīšap*, Afy. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *arsav*.

*kṣ > khs, xs*.

§ 482. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *khs*, *xs*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' Oss. *arsav*, etc. (see preceding §).

*kṣ > g(g)*.

§ 483. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *g(g)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maxši* 'fly,' Phl., New Pers. *magas*, Sīv., Judaeo-Pers. *magaz*, Bal. *magisk*, *makask*, etc. (see § 480).



$kṣ > c(c)$ .

§ 484. The assimilation of  $kṣ$  to  $c(c)$  is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣudra* 'small,' Prāk. *khudḍa*, Pāli *khudda*, U<sub>r</sub>. *khudatā*, Bang. *khudā*, Old Sinh. *cuḍi*, Sinh. *kuḍa*, *kudu*.

b. Iranian. Av. \**ṣāpacara* 'bat,' Bal. *ṣapcar*, Makrānī *capcal* (assimilation).

$kṣ > (c)ch$ .

§ 485. The assimilation of  $kṣ$  to  $(c)ch$  is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Prāk. *riccha*, *rikkha*, Pāli *accha*, *ikka*, *is(s)a*, U<sub>r</sub>. *richa*, Bihārī *rīch*, *rīkh*, Hindī *rīch*, Panj. *ricch*, Sindhī *richu*, Guj. *rīch*, Mar. *rīs*. Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Prāk. *macchiā*, Kāśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), U<sub>r</sub>. *mā(n)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(n)sī*), Bang. *māchī*, E. Hindī *mā(n)chī*, etc. (see § 481). Skt. *kṣētra* 'field,' Prāk. *chettu*, Pāli *khetta*, Kāśm. *khīt*. Skt. *kṣatriya* 'warrior,' Prāk. *khattia*, Pāli *khattiya*, U<sub>r</sub>. *chetri*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *chatrī*, *khatrī*, *khetri*, Sindhī *khitrī*, Mar. *kṣatrī*.

$kṣ > j, (j)jh$ .

§ 486. The assimilation of  $kṣ$  to  $j, (j)jh$ , is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣīṇa* 'wasted,' Prāk. *jhīṇa*, *khīṇa*, *chīṇa*, Pāli *khīna*, *khinna*, Ass. *jīn* 'decay,' Hindī *jhīn*, *cchīn*, Sindhī *jhīnō*, Gyp. *khinō*. Skt. *kṣīyate* 'wastes away,' Prāk. *jhijjajī*, Mar. *jhij*. Skt. *kṣāmā* 'earth,' Hindī *jhāmā* 'vitrified brick.'

$kṣ > s(s)$ .

§ 487. The assimilation of  $kṣ$  to  $s(s)$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Prāk., Pāli *ucchu*, U<sub>r</sub>. *ākhu*, Bang. *āku*, E. Hindī *ūkh*, W. Hindī *ikh*, Mar. *ūs*. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Mar. *rīs*, etc. (see § 485). Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Kāśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), U<sub>r</sub>. *mā(n)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(n)sī*), etc. (see § 481). Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' Sinh. *pasa*, *pak*, etc. (see § 481).

Skt. *kṣaṇa* 'instant,' Prāk. *khṇa*, *chaṇa* 'feast,' New Ind. dialects *khaṇ*, excepting Hindi *khan*, *chan*, *chin*, Sinh. *sāṇa*, *san(d)a*, inscriptions *sūndā*.

$kṣ > ś(ṣ)$ .

§ 488. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *ś(ṣ)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian languages.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *xšāyaθiya* 'king,' Pāz., New Pers. *šāh*. Av. *xšīra* 'milk,' Phl., New Pers. *šīr*, Minj. *xšīr*, Dig. Oss. *axšīr*, Tag. *axsīr*. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' New Pers. *šab*, Kāš. *šav*, Šiyn. *šab*, Afγ. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, Kurd. *šav*, etc. (see § 481).

$kṣ > h(h)$ .

§ 489. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *h(h)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāikṣa* 'novice,' Jāina Prāk. *sēha*, Pāli *sekha*, *sēkha*. Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' E. Bang. *pāhī*, Bihārī *pāhīm* 'beside,' *paṁchī* 'bird,' *paṁkh* 'wing,' etc. (see § 481). Skt. *dakṣiṇa* 'southern,' Prāk. *dāhiṇa*, *dakkhiṇa*, Ur. *dāhinā*, *ḍāhāna*, Hindi *dāhinā*, *dakhin*, etc. (see § 481).

$kṣ > z(z)$ .

§ 490. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *z(z)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Kaf. *zu*, etc. (see § 480).

#### *Aphaeresis of kṣ.*

§ 491. The loss of initial *kṣ* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣāra* 'potash,' Prāk. *chāra*, Pāli *khāra*, *chārika*, New Ind. dialects *khār*, excepting Sindhi *chāru*, Sinh. *al*, *hal*, Maladive *hulu*.

$kṣn > ṇ, n$ .

§ 492. The assimilation of *kṣn* to *ṇ, n*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Phl., New Pers. *rōšan*, Šiyn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, Afγ. *rūṇ*, Bal. *rōšanī*, Kurd. *rōn*, *rūn*, *ruhnāi*, *rūnā(h)i*.

$k\check{s}n > \check{s}n$ .

§ 493. The assimilation of  $k\check{s}n$  to  $\check{s}n$  is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Šiyn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, etc. (see preceding §).

$k\check{s}n > hn$ .

§ 494. The assimilation of  $k\check{s}n$  to  $hn$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Kurd. *ruhnāi*, *rūnā(h)i*, *rōn*, *rūn*, etc. (see § 492).

$gdh > t(t)$ .

§ 495. The assimilation of  $gdh$  to  $t(t)$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Prāk., Pāli *duddha*, Nāip. *dūt*, Kaśm. *dod*, Uṛ. *dudha*, Bang. *dudh*, *dud(u)*, Bihārī, Hindī *dūdh*, Panj. *dudd*, Sindhī *ḍōdhi*, Guj., Mar. *dūdh*, Gyp. *thud*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dogdhum* 'to milk,' Phl. *dōxtanō*, New Pers. *dōxtan*, Wāxī *dōgnam*, Sarq. *ḍauzam*, Afγ. *lvašal*, Bal. *dōšaγ*, Kurd. *dōtin*, Bayazid *dōthin*, Dig. Oss. *dočun*, Tag. *dūčīn*.

$gdh > d(d)$ .

§ 496. The assimilation of  $gdh$  to  $d(d)$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Kaśm. *dod*, Bang. *dud(u)*, *dudh*, Panj. *dudd*, Gyp. *thud*, etc. (see preceding §).

$gdh > ddh$ .

§ 497. The assimilation of  $gdh$  to  $ddh$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Prāk., Pāli *duddha*, Uṛ. *dudha*, Bang. *dudh*, *dud(u)*, Bihārī, Hindī *dūdh*, Sindhī *ḍōdhi*, Guj., Mar. *dūdh*, etc. (see § 495). Skt. *mugdha* 'fool,' Prāk., Pāli *muddha*.

$gn > g(g), \gamma$ .

§ 498. The assimilation of  $gn$  to  $g(g), \gamma$ , is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is excessively rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *agni* 'fire,' Prāk. *aggi*, *aggiṇi*, *giṇi*, Uṛ. *ṇia*, Bang. *āgun*, Hindī *āg*, Panj. *agg*, Sindhī *agi*, Guj., Mar. *āg*, Sinh. *gini*, Gyp. *yag*. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,' Prāk., Pāli *nagga*, Uṛ. *naṁgalā*, Bang. *nēmṭā*, Bihārī *naṁg*, Hindī, Panj. *naṁgā*, Sindhī *naṁgō*, Guj. *nāguṇh*, Mar. *naggā*, *naṁgā*, Gyp. *nangō* (cf. also Kaśm. *naṁrāv* 'to strip'). Skt. *lagna* 'attached,' Prāk., Pāli *lagga*, Hindī *lagā*, *lāg*, Panj. *lag*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōyan*, *rōkan*, Pāz. *raogan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *raun*, Sangl. *rōy*, Kurd. *rūn*.

*gn* > *n(n)*.

§ 499. The assimilation of *gn* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Sarq. *raun*, Kurd. *rūn*, etc. (see preceding §).

*Syncope and apocope of gn.*

§ 500. The loss of internal or final *gn* occurs with the utmost rarity.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Kāš. *rō*, *ruyan*, etc. (see § 498).

*gm* > *m(m)*.

§ 501. The assimilation of *gm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yugma* 'pair,' Prāk. *jumma*, *jugga*. Skt. *tigma* 'sharp,' Prāk. *timma*, *tigga*.

b. Iranian. GAv. *āgəmaṭ* 'assembled,' YAv. *frāymaṭ*, Old Pers. *hagmatā*, Phl. *maṭanō*, New Pers. *āmudan*.

*gy* > *g(g)*.

§ 502. The assimilation of *gy* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yōgya* 'suitable,' Prāk. *jogga*, Pāli *yogga*,

New Ind. dialects *jōg*. Skt. *lagyati* (Nirukta, iv. 10) 'is attached,' Prāk. *laggañ*, Pāli *laggati*, Kaśm.  $\sqrt{\text{lag}}$ , Hindī *lag*, Panj. *lagg*, Sindhī *lāg*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*.

$gr > g(g)$ .

§ 503. The assimilation of *gr* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *agra* 'front,' Prāk., Pāli *agga*, Ass. *āgē*, Nāip. *aghi*, Ur. *āgu*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *āgē*, Panj. *aggū*, Sindhī *aggō*, Gyp. *agor*, *angle*. Skt. *vyagra* 'crooked,' Prāk. *vagga*.

$ghr > (g)gh$ .

§ 504. The assimilation of *ghr* to *(g)gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śīghra* 'swift,' Prāk. *siggha*, Pāli *sīgha*, Bang. (Burdwānī) *śiggir*, Gyp. *sigō*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhī *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Sinh. *vag*.

$ghr > r(r)$ .

§ 505. The assimilation of *ghr* to *r(r)* is sometimes found.

b. Iranian. Av. *tiyri* 'arrow,' Old Pers. *tiyra*, Phl., New Pers., Bal. *tīr*, N. Bal. *thīr*, Kurd. *tīr(ik)*.

$ṛk > ṛg$ .

§ 506. The softening of *ṛk* to *ṛg* occurs not infrequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *paryanaka* 'bed,' Prāk. *pallamka*, Śaur. Prāk. *palamka*, Pāli *pallanaka*, *pariyānaka*, Ass. *pāleryg*, Nāip. *palarog*, Ur. *palamk*, Bang. *pālām̐g*, *pālām̐k*, Bihārī *palaw̐ng*, *pālak̐i*, Hindī *palam̐g*, Panj. *palam̐gh*, Sindhī *palaw̐gu*, Guj., Mar. *palam̐g*, Anglo-Ind. *palanquin*. Skt. *kan̐kaṇa* 'bracelet,' Prāk., Pāli *kan̐kaṇa*, Ass. *kaṛgan*, *kāṛkan*, Kaśm. *kaṛk̐āin*, *kaṛogum*, Ur., Bang. *kām̐gan*, E. Hindī *kaṁgan*, *kaṁkan*, *kām̐kan*, Hindī *kaṁgan*, *kaṁkan*, Panj. *kaṁgan*, Sindhī *kaṛogaṇu*, Guj., Mar. *kaṁgan*.

*ɳkt > nt.*

§ 507. The assimilation of *ɳkt* to *nt* occurs occasionally (cf. § 464).

a. Indian. Skt. *paṇkti* 'row,' Prāk., Pāli *paṇṭi*, Bihārī *pāṇṭi*.

*ɳkh > k(h).*

§ 508. The assimilation of *ɳkh* to *k(h)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'fetter,' Pāli *saṅkhala*, Ass. *sikali*, Nāip. *sikrī*, Ur. *śikuli*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, E. Hindī *sī(m)-kar*, *sik(k)ar*, Hindī *sīkar*, *sikal*, *sikhar*, Panj. *saṅghar*, Sindhī *saṅgharō*, Guj. *sāṅghal*, Mar. *sā(m)khal*, *sikrī*.

*ɳkh > ŋgh, ŋgh.*

§ 509. The softening of *ɳkh* to *ŋgh*, *ŋgh*, is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śṛṅkhalu* 'fetter,' Panj. *saṅghar*, Sindhī *saṅgharō*, Guj. *saṅghal*, etc. (see preceding §).

*ɳg > g(g).*

§ 510. The assimilation of *ɳg* to *g(g)* occurs but rarely in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lāṅgala* 'plough,' Prāk. *laṅgala*, *ṇaṅgala*, Pāli *naṅgala*, Bang. *nāṅgal*, Bihārī *lāṅgal*, Mar. *nāṅgar*, Siṁh. *nagula*, *nagalu*. Skt. *lāṅgāla* 'tail,' Prāk. *laṅgāla*, Siṁh. *nagal*, *nakūṭa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'toe,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Siv. *gus*, Kāš. *unguss*, *anguš(t)*, Māz. *angus*, Wāxī *yangl*, Šiyn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afy. *gāta*, Tag. Oss. *angursth*.

*ɳg > ŋgh.*

§ 511. The aspirization of *ɳg* to *ŋgh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jaṅgala* 'desert,' Ass. *jaṅghal*, Sindhī *jhaṅgu* < \**jaṅghu*, other New Ind. dialects *jaṅgal*, Old Hindī also *jaṅgar*, Anglo-Ind. *jungle*.



*ceh* > *śe(h)*.

§ 512. The dissimilation of *ceh* to *śe(h)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gaccha* 'go!' Māg. Prāk. *gaśca*. Skt. *pr̥cchati* 'asks,' Māg. Prāk. *puścadi*. Skt. *ucchiṣṭa* 'remnant,' Śāk. Prāk. *uśchitta*, Pāli *ucchitt̐ha*.

*cy* > *c(c)*.

§ 513. The assimilation of *cy* to *c(c)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *acyuta* 'firm,' Prāk. *accuda*, Pāli *accuta*. Skt. *cyavatē* 'goes,' Prāk. *cavaṛ*, Pāli *cavati*, Ur. *cuibā*, Bang. *cuān*, Hindī *cūnā*, Panj. *cōṇā*, Sindhī *cuhāṇu*, Mar. *cāvaṇēn*. Skt. *ucyatē* 'is said,' Māg. Prāk. *vuccadi*, Śāur. Prāk. *vuccaṛ*, Pāli *vuccati*.

*cv* > *c(c)*, *č(č)*.

§ 514. The assimilation of *cv* to *c(c)*, *č(č)*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *cvant* 'how many?' Phl., New Pers. *cand*, Wāxī *čum*, *čun*, Sarq. *čund*, Afγ. *čom(b)ra*, Bal. *cunt*.

*jñ* > *g(g)*.

§ 515. The assimilation of *jñ* to *g(g)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yağña* 'sacrifice,' Prāk. *jaṇṇa*, Śāur. Prāk. *jañja*, Pāli *yañña*, Ur., Bang. *jāga*, Old Hindī *jajana*, *jaja*, *jagga*, *jagya*, Hindī *jāg*, Panj. *jagy*, Sindhī *jaḡu*, Mar. *jāg*.

*jñ* > *gy*.

§ 516. The New Indian dialects, with the exception of Sindhī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, regularly pronounce *jñ* as *gy*, although Uṛiya and Bangālī retain *jñ* in script. In Gujarātī *jñ* is pronounced *jñ* or *dn*, and in Marāṭhī *jñ* is pronounced *dny*. Sindhī usually assimilates *jñ* to *jj*.

a. Indian. Skt. *jñāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *jāṇa*, *ṇāṇa*, Pāis. Prāk. *ñāṇa*, Pāli *jāna*, Ur., Bang. *jñāna* (pron. *giānō*), Hindī,

Panj. *gyān*, Sindhī *jānu*, Guj., Mar. *jāṇ*. Skt. *ājñā* 'command,' Prāk. *añā*, Pāli *aññā*, Hindī *āgyā*, Panj. *agiā*, Sindhī *āgyā*, Guj. *agnyā*.

$jñ > j(j)$ .

§ 517. The assimilation of *jñ* to *j(j)* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jñāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *jāṇa*, *ṇāṇa*, Pāli *jāṇa*, Sindhī *jānu*, Guj., Mar. *jāṇ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Prāk. *savvajja*, *savvaṇṇu*, Śāur. Prāk. *sarvañja*, Māhār. Prāk. *savvanu*, Pāis. Prāk. *sarvañña*.

$jñ > ñ(ñ)$ .

§ 518. The assimilation of *jñ* to *ñ(ñ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Pāis. Prāk. *sarvañña*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *viññāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *viṇṇāna*, Pāli *viññāna*.

$jñ > ṇ(n)$ .

§ 519. The assimilation of *jñ* to *ṇ(n)* is found quite frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *viññāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *viṇṇāna*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *rājñī* 'queen,' Nāip., Hindī *rānī*, other New Ind. dialects *rāṇī*. Skt. *ājñācakra* 'mystic circle of the body,' Sinh. inscriptions *aṇasak*, *aṇasat*.

$jñ > n(n)$ .

§ 520. The assimilation of *jñ* to *n(n)* occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Māhār. Prāk. *savvanu*, etc. (see § 517). Skt. *jñāti* 'kinsman,' Pāli *ñāti*, Sinh. *nā*.

$jy > j(j)$ .

§ 521. The assimilation of *jy* to *j(j)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājya* 'kingdom,' Pāli *rajja*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jūtānō* 'to gnaw,' New Pers. *jāvīdan*, Gab.

*jovādmūn*, Afy. *žōvul*, *žōyal*, Bal. *jāyag*, N. Bal. *jāγ*, Kurd. *jān* (cf. Old Bulg. *živati*, Old High Germ. *kiuwan*).

*jy* > (j)jh.

§ 522. The assimilation of *jy* to (j)jh is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *adhijya* 'having the bow-string taut,' Pāli *adejjha*, but Skt. *jyā* 'bow-string,' Pāli *j(i)gā*.

*jy* > z(z), ž(ž).

§ 523. The assimilation of *jy* to z(z), or ž(ž), is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jūtanō* 'to gnaw,' Afy. *žōvul*, *žōyal*, etc. (see § 521). Av. *jya* 'bow-string,' Pāz. *jīk*, New Pers. *zih*, Kāš. *zah*, *ža*, Afy. *žai*, N. Bal. *jīγ*, Kurd. *žih*.

*jv* > j(j).

§ 524. The assimilation of *jv* to j(j) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Prāk., Pāli *jālā*, Ur. *jvalibā*, Hindi *bālānā*, Panj. *jalaṇā*, *bālaṇā*, Sindhī *jalaṇu*, *bāraṇu*, Guj. *jalavum*, Mar. *jalaṇēm*, Sinh. *dala*.

*jv* > (j)jh.

§ 525. The assimilation of *jv* to (j)jh is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvalati* 'flames,' Apab. Prāk. *jalaī*, Pāli *jalati*, Ur. *jhalakanā*, Sindhī *jhalkaṇu*, Guj. *jhalakavum*, Mar. *jhalakaṇēm*.

*jv* > d(d).

§ 526. The assimilation of *jv* to d(d) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Sinh. *dala*, etc. (see §§ 524, 182).

*jv* > b(b).

§ 527. The assimilation of *jv* to b(b) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Hindi *bālānā*, Panj. *bālaṇā*, *jalaṇā*, Sindhī *bāraṇu*, *jalaṇu*, etc. (see § 524). Skt. *jvara* 'fever,' Prāk., Pāli *jara*, Sindhī *bar*.

$\hat{n}c > \text{ng}$ .

§ 528. The assimilation of  $\hat{n}c$  to  $\text{ng}$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tancišta* 'most narrow,' Phl., New Pers. *tang*, Wāxī *tang*, Sarq. *tong*, Afy. *tangayī*, Bal. *tank*, N. Bal. *thanax*, *thanakh*, Kurd. *tank*.

$\hat{n}c > c(c)$ .

§ 529. The assimilation of  $\hat{n}c$  to  $c(c)$  occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Prāk. *paṇṇāsa*, Pāli *paññāsa*, *paṇṇāsa*, Kāśm. *pañčah*, Uṛ. *pacāśa*, Bang. *pañcāsa*, Bihārī, Hindī *pacās*, Panj., Sindhī *pañjah*, Guj. *pacās*, Mar. *pannās*, Sinh. *panaha*.

$\hat{n}c > j(j)$ .

§ 530. The assimilation of  $\hat{n}c$  to  $j(j)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kuñcikā* 'key,' Nāip. *kuñjī*, Kāśm. *kuñz*, Uṛ. *kuji*, *kuñcī*, *kuñjhī*, Bang. *kājī*, *kūñjī*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kuñjī*, Guj. *kuñcī*, Mar. *kuñjī*.

$\hat{n}c > \hat{n}j$ .

§ 531. The softening of  $\hat{n}c$  to  $\hat{n}j$  is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuñcikā* 'key,' Nāip. *kuñjī*, Bang. *kū(ñ)jī*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Mar. *kuñjī*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *panca* 'five,' Phl. *panc*, New Pers. *panj*, Kāš. *hanc*, Wāxī *pānz*, Šiyn., Sarq. *pinz*, Sangl. *panz*, Minj. *panc*, Afy. *pinja*, Oss. *fonj*, *fonj*, Kurd. *panj*, *pēnj*.

$\hat{n}c > \hat{n}(\hat{n})$ .

§ 532. The assimilation of  $\hat{n}c$  to  $\hat{n}(\hat{n})$  occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Pāli *paññāsa*, *paṇṇāsa*, etc. (see § 529).

$\hat{n}c > \text{ṇ}(\text{ṇ})$ .

§ 533. The assimilation of  $\hat{n}c$  to  $\text{ṇ}(\text{ṇ})$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Prāk. *paṇṇāsa*, Pāli *pañ-ñāsa*, *paññāsa*, etc. (see § 529).

$\hat{n}c > n(n)$ .

§ 534. The assimilation of  $\hat{n}c$  to  $n(n)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Mar. *pañnās*, Sinh. *panaha*, etc. (see § 529).

$\hat{n}c > s(s)$ .

§ 535. The assimilation of  $\hat{n}c$  to  $s(s)$  is extremely rare (cf. § 165).

a. Indian. Skt. *kāñcana* 'gold,' Prāk. *kañcaṇa*, Pāli *kañcana*, Sinh. *kasun*. Skt. *pañca* 'five,' Prāk., Pāli *pañca*, Kaśm. *pañč*, Ur., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *pāñc*, Panj., Sindhī *pāñj*, Guj., Mar. *pāñc*, Sinh. *pasa*, *paha*, Gyp. *panc*.

$\hat{n}c > h(h)$ .

§ 536. The assimilation of  $\hat{n}c$  to  $h(h)$  is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañca* 'five,' Sinh. *paha*, *pasa*, etc. (see preceding § and cf. § 169).

$\hat{n}j > m̃d$ .

§ 537. The assimilation of  $\hat{n}j$  to  $m̃d$  is excessively rare, excepting in Sinhalese (see § 182).

a. Indian. Skt. *añjana* 'collyrium,' Prāk. *añjaṇa*, Pāli *añjana*, Sinh. *aṃduna*.

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$\acute{d}g > g(g)$ .

§ 538. The assimilation of  $\acute{d}g$  to  $g(g)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaḍga* 'sword,' Prāk., Pāli *khagga*, Ur. *khaṃḍā*, Bang. *kharag*, Hindī *kharag*, *khāṃḍ*, Sindhī *khanō*, Guj. *khārūṃ*, Mar. *khāṃḍ*.

$\acute{d}g > \acute{d}(\acute{d})$ .

§ 539. The assimilation of  $\acute{d}g$  to  $\acute{d}(\acute{d})$  is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaḍga* 'sword,' Ur. *khaṃḍā*, Hindī *khāṃḍ*, *kharag*, Guj. *khārūṃ*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\acute{d}g > n(n)$ .

§ 540. The assimilation of  $\acute{d}g$  to  $n(n)$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaḍga* 'sword,' Sindhī *khanō*, etc. (see § 538).

$ṇṭ > ṭ(ṭ)$ .

§ 541. The assimilation of  $ṇṭ$  to  $ṭ(ṭ)$  is found occasionally.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Prāk. *kaṇṭaa*, Pāli *kaṇṭ(h)aka*, Ass. *kāmṭi*, Nāip. *kāmṛā*, Kaśm. *koṇḍ*, *kūṇḍ*, Ur. *kaṇṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Bang. *kāṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Hindī *kāmṭā*, Panj., Sindhī *kamḍā*, Guj. *kāmṭō*, Mar. *kāṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Gyp. *kanrō*, *kandō*.

$ṇṭ > ḍ(ḍ)$ .

§ 542. The assimilation of  $ṇṭ$  to  $ḍ(ḍ)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Nāip. *kāmṛā*, Panj., Sindhī *kāmḍā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṇṭ > ṇḍ$ .

§ 543. The softening of  $ṇṭ$  to  $ṇḍ$  occurs quite rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Kaśm. *koṇḍ*, *kūṇḍ*, Gyp. *kandō*, *kanrō*, etc. (see § 541).

$ṇṭh > ṇṭ$ .

§ 544. The deaspirization of  $ṇṭh$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṇṭhi* 'ginger,' Kaśm. *sōṇṭ*, Ur., Bang. *śuṇṭha*, Hindī *sōmṭh*, Panj. *suṇḍh*, *sōmḍh*, Sindhī *suṇḍhi*, Guj. *suṇṭh*.

$ṇṭh > ṇḍh$ .

§ 545. The softening of  $ṇṭh$  to  $ṇḍh$  is the most usual change of all those to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṇṭhi* 'ginger,' Panj. *suṇḍh*, *sōmḍh*, Sindhī *suṇḍhi*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṇḍ > ḍ(ḍ)$ .

§ 546. The assimilation of  $ṇḍ$  to  $ḍ(ḍ)$  is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaṇḍaka* 'fragment,' Kaśm. *khaḍak*, Ur. *khaṇḍā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *khāmṛ*, Panj. *khāmḍā*, Sindhī *khanō*, Guj. *khāḍum*, Mar. *khaṇḍā*, *khāmḍā*. Skt. *duṇḍubha* 'sort of lizard,' Pāli *dedḍubha*.



$nḷ > nd$ .

§ 547. The decerebralization of  $nḷ$  is not a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *raṇḍā* 'window,' Ass., Nāip. *rāmri*, Ur., Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *rām̐r*, Panj. *rand*, Sindhī *ran*, Guj., Mar. *rāmḷ*.

$nḍ > n(n)$ .

§ 548. The assimilation of  $nḍ$  to  $n(n)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaṇḍaka* 'fragment,' Sindhī *khanō*, etc. (see § 546). Skt. *raṇḍā* 'window,' Sindhī *ran*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt., Pāli *gaṇḍaka* 'rhinoceros,' Bihārī *gannā*, *gandā*, *gāmḍā*.

$nḍh > ḍ(ḍ)$ .

§ 549. The assimilation of  $nḍh$  to  $ḍ(ḍ)$  is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sām̐r*, Bang. *ṣām̐r*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sām̐r*, Panj. *sāmḍh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Multānī *sām̐h*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sāmḍ*.

$nḍh > n(n)$ .

§ 550. The assimilation of  $nḍh$  to  $n(n)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Sindhī *sānu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$nḍh > m̐r$ .

§ 551. The assimilation of  $nḍh$  to  $m̐r$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Ass. *sām̐r*, etc. (see § 549).

$nḍh > m̐h$ .

§ 552. The assimilation of  $nḍh$  to  $m̐h$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Multānī *sām̐h*, *saṇḍhā*, etc. (see § 549).

$ny > ṇj$ .

§ 553. The assimilation of  $ny$  to  $ṇj$  is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brahmaṇya* 'Brahmanical,' Śāur. Prāk. *vamhaṇja*.

$\eta y > \hat{n}(\hat{n})$ .

§ 554. The assimilation of  $\eta y$  to  $\hat{n}(\hat{n})$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *puṇya* 'pure,' Prāk. *puṇṇa*, Pāli *puṇṇa*, *puṇṇa*, Sindhī *puṇṇ*. Skt. *aṛaṇya* 'desert,' Prāk. *raṇṇa*, Pāli *araṇṇa*, Hindī *ran*, Sindhī *raṇ*, *rimu*, Guj., Mar. *rān*.

$\eta y > \eta(n)$ .

§ 555. The assimilation of  $\eta y$  to  $\eta(n)$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *puṇya* 'pure,' Prāk. *puṇṇa*, Pāli *puṇṇa*, *puṇṇa*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\eta y > n(n)$ .

§ 556. The assimilation of  $\eta y$  to  $n(n)$  is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṛaṇya* 'desert,' Hindī *ran*, Sindhī *rimu*, *raṇ*, Guj., Mar. *rān*, etc. (see § 554). Skt. *hiraṇya* 'gold,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi and Kapur di Giri) *hilaṇna*, Pāli *hiraṇṇa*.

$\eta v > \eta(n)$ .

§ 557. The assimilation of  $\eta v$  to  $\eta(n)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇva* nom. prop., Prāk. *kaṇṇa*. Skt. *kiṇva* 'yeast,' Pāli *kiṇṇa*, Sindhī *kinu*.

$\eta v > n(n)$ .

§ 558. The assimilation of  $\eta v$  to  $n(n)$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiṇva* 'yeast,' Sindhī *kinu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$tt > t(t)$ .

§ 559. The cerebralization of  $tt$  to  $t(t)$  is in the great majority of cases due to the presence of a preceding  $r$ ,  $ṛ$ .

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛtta* 'happened,' Prāk. *vattā*, Pāli *vattā*, *vatta*. Skt. *mṛttikā* 'clay,' Prāk. *maṭṭiā*, Pāli *mattikā*, Uṛ., Bang. *māṭī*, Hindī, Panj. *mittī*, *maṭṭī*, Sindhī *miṭī*, Guj. *māṭī*, Mar. *māṭī*. Skt. *pattana* 'town,' Prāk. *paṭṭaṇa*, Pāli *paṭṭana*.

$tp > p(p)$ .

§ 560. The assimilation of  $tp$  to  $p(p)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *utpadyantē* 'they arise,' Prāk. *uppajjantē*, Pāli *uppajjanti*, cf. Sindhī *upanō*, Guj. *upan(y)ō*.

$tm > t(t)$ .

§ 561. The assimilation of  $tm$  to  $t(t)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. *attā*, *appā*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, Pāli *attā*, *ātumā*, Ass. *āpu*, Nāip. *āphu*, Kaśm. *pāṇ*, Ur., Bang. *āp(ē)*, *āpaṇa*, *āpani*, Hindī, Panj. *āp(an)*, Sindhī *pāṇ*, Guj. *āp*, Mar. *āp(an)*.

$tm > pt$ .

§ 562. The assimilation of  $tm$  to  $pt$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, lit. Prāk. *attā*, *appā*, etc. (see preceding § and cf. Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, § 277).

$tm > p(p)$ .

§ 563. The assimilation of  $tm$  to  $p(p)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. *appā*, *attā*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, Ass. *āpu*, Kaśm. *pāṇ*, Ur., Bang. *āp(ē)*, *āpaṇa*, *āpani*, Hindī, Panj. *āp(an)*, Sindhī *pāṇ*, Guj. *āp*, Mar. *āp(an)*, etc. (see § 561).

$ty > c(c)$ .

§ 564. The assimilation of  $ty$  to  $c(c)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *satya* 'true,' Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Ass. *saṁcā*, (pron. *hoṁsā*), Ur. *sacā*, Bang. *sāṁcā*, *sacā*, E. Hindī *sāṁc*, Hindī *sāṁc*, *sa(m)c*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacū*, Guj., Mar. *sācum*, Simh. *sasa*, Gyp. *cacō*. Skt. *hatyā* 'murder,' Sindhī *hacā*.

*ty* > *t(t)*.

§ 565. The assimilation of *ty* to *t(t)*, while less frequent than the assimilation of *ty* to *c(c)*, is, nevertheless, not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nitya* 'constant,' Prāk., Pāli *nicca*, Bihārī *nit(t)*, Sindhī *nitū*, Sinh. *nisadī*, *nisādī*. Skt. *amātya* 'minister,' Prāk., Pāli *amacca*, Sinh. *ameta*, *ametiya*. Skt. *atyunnata* 'very high,' Jaina Prāk. *accunaya*.

*ty* > *s(s)*.

§ 566. The assimilation of *ty* to *s(s)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nitya* 'constant,' Sinh. *nisadī*, *nisādī*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *satya* 'true,' Sinh. *sasa*, etc. (see § 564).

*tr* > *č(č)*.

§ 567. The assimilation of *tr* to *č(č)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθ<sup>r</sup>a*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pūr*, Wāxī *pōtr*, Šīyn. *puč*, Sarq. *pöč*, Minj. *pūr*, Yayn. *pulah*, N. Bal. *phusaγ*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*, Kurd. *pisir*.

*tr* > *ṭ(t)*.

§ 568. The assimilation of *tr* to *ṭ(t)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Prāk. *putta*, Śāur. Prāk. *puḍ(ṭ)a*, Pāli *putta*, U<sub>r</sub>. *pua*, Hindī *put*, Sindhī *puṭru*, Lār. *puṭṭu*, Mar. *putī*, Sinh. *piṭ*, *put*.

*tr* > *ṭr*.

§ 569. The assimilation of *tr* to *ṭr* occurs only in Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *trīṇi* 'three,' Prāk. *tiṇṇi*, Pāli *tīṇi*, Kāśm. *trih*, U<sub>r</sub>. *tini*, Bang. *tina*, Bihārī *tinī*, Hindī *tīn*, Panj. *tiṁn*, Sindhī *trē*, Guj. *taṇ*, Mar. *tīn*, Gyp. *trin*. Skt. *sūtra* 'thread,' Prāk., Pāli *sutta*, New Ind. dialects *sūt*, excepting Sindhī *suṭru*, Lār. *suṭṭu*, Sinh. *suta*.

*tr* > (t)th.

§ 570. The assimilation of *tr* to (t)th is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathamaputra* 'first-born son,' E. Hindī, Hindī *pahilam̐thā*, Panj. *pahilōthā*, Sindhī *pahrōthō*, *pahrātu*.

*tr* > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 571. The assimilation of *tr* to ḍ(ḍ) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Śāur. Prāk. *puḍ(ḍ)a*, etc. (see § 568).

*tr* > t(t).

§ 572. The assimilation of *tr* to t(t) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rātri* 'night,' Prāk. *ratti*, *rāṣ*, Pāli *ratti*, Kāsm., Uṛ., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *rāt*, Panj. *ratt*, *rāt*, Sindhī *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*, Siñh. *rāya*, *rā*, Gyp. *rat*, Span. Gyp. (a)*raci*. Skt. *kṣētra* 'field,' Prāk. *chetta*, Pāli *khetta*, Uṛ., Bang. *khēta*, Hindī *khēt*, *khēḍā*, Panj. *khēt*, Sindhī *khētu*, Guj. *khēḍ*, Mar. *śēt*, Siñh. *keta*. Skt. *trimaṇḍala* 'Buddhist's robe,' Pāli *tīmaṇḍala*, Old Siñh. *dunumaṇḍul*, New Siñh. *tunmaḍulla*. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Prāk., Pāli *putta*, Hindī *put*, Mar. *putī*, Siñh. *pit*, *put*, etc. (see § 568).

*tr* > dr.

§ 573. The assimilation of *tr* to dr is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θri* 'three,' Pāz. *se*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Wāxī *trui*, Šiyn. *arraī*, Sarq. *haroi*, Sangl. *trāi*, Minj. *šarai*, Yāyn. *θaraī*, Afy. *drē*, Kurd. *sē*.

*tr* > phr, fr.

§ 574. The assimilation of *tr* to phr, fr, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θraētaona* nom. prop., Phl. *frētūn*, Pāz. *frēdūn*, New Pers. *farēdūn*.

*tr* > r(r).

§ 575. The assimilation of *tr* to r(r) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' New Pers. *pūr*, *pus(ar)*, Gab.

*pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pūr*, Minj. *pūr*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *ciθra* 'bright,' Phl. *citrē*, New Pers. *cihr*, Afy. *čēr*, Kurd. *cāra*.

*tr* > *l(l)*.

§ 576. The assimilation of *tr* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Yayn. *pulah*, etc. (see § 567). Old Pers. *Μιθραδάρης*, *Μιθριδάρης*, nom. prop., Phl. *miθrdāt*, New Pers. *mīlād*.

*tr* > *s(s)*.

§ 577. The assimilation of *tr* to *s(s)* is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, N. Bal. *phusaγ*, Kurd. *pisir*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *θri* 'three,' Pāz. *se*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Kurd. *sē*, etc. (see § 573). Av. *pāθra* 'protection,' Phl., New Pers. *pās*.

*tr* > *š(š)*.

§ 578. The assimilation of *tr* to *š(š)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θri* 'three,' Minj. *šarai*, etc. (see § 573).

*tr* > *hr*.

§ 579. The assimilation of *tr* to *hr* is common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Phl. *puhr*, *pus(ar)*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *ciθra* 'bright,' New Pers. *cihr*, etc. (see § 575). Av. *θri* 'three,' Sarq. *haroi*, etc. (see § 573).

*Syncope of tr.*

§ 580. The loss of the consonant-group *tr* internally is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *rātri* 'night,' Prāk. *rāī*, *ratti*, Sinh. *rā*, *rāya*, etc. (see § 572). Skt. *mitra* 'friend,' Prāk. *mia*, *mitta*, Pāli *mitta*, Sindhī *miō*.



*tv* > *t(t)*.

§ 581. The assimilation of *tv* to *t(t)* is the regular one undergone by this consonant-group in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tvarita* 'quick,' Prāk. *turia*, Pāli *turita*, Hindī, Panj. *turaṁt*, Sindhī *turtu*, Guj. *turut*, Mar. *turāt*. Skt. *cattvāraḥ* 'four,' Prāk. *cattāra*, *caūra*, Pāli *catu*, Kaśm. *čōr*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihārī *cāri*, Hindī, Panj. *cār*, Sindhī *cāri*, Guj., Mar. *cār*, Old Sinh. *siv(u)*, New Sinh. *hatara*, *satara*, *hār*, Gyp. *štar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tām* < \**tvəm* 'thou,' Pāz. *tō*, New Pers. *tū*, Afγ. *ta*, Kurd. *tu*, Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dī*.

*tv* > *d(d)*.

§ 582. The assimilation of *tv* to *d(d)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tūm* 'thou,' Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dī*, etc. (see preceding §).

*tv* > *p(p)*.

§ 583. The assimilation of *tv* to *p(p)* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, especially in the case of the Old Indian suffix *-tva*, which generally becomes *-pan*, *-paṇu*, *-puṇā*, etc., in the New Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects an assimilation of *tv* to *p(p)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥ddhatva* 'old age,' Bang. *budhāpaṇā*, *budhāpā*, Hindī *būdhāpan*, Panj. *budhāpā*, Sindhī *būdhāpaṇu*, Guj. *budhāpō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiγn. *čavor*, *čavār*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafīr*, Yidg. *cīr*, Yaγn. *tfō*, Afγ. *calor*, Dig. Oss. *čuppar*, *čuphphar*, Tag. *cippar*, *ciphphar*.

*tv* > *ph, f*.

§ 584. The assimilation of *tv* to *ph, f*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafīr*, Yaγn. *tfō*, Dig. Oss. *čuppar*, *čuphphar*, Tag. *cippar*, *ciphphar*, etc. (see preceding §).

*tv* > *b(b)*.

§ 585. The assimilation of *tv* to *b(b)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, etc. (see § 583).

*tv* > *l(l)*.

§ 586. The assimilation of *tv* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Afγ. *calor*, etc. (see § 583).

*tv* > *v(v)*.

§ 587. The assimilation of *tv* to *v(v)* is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvārah* 'four,' Old Sinh. *siv(u)*, etc. (see § 581).

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Šīyn. *čavor*, *čavār*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, etc. (see § 583).

*tv* > *sp*.

§ 588. The assimilation of *tv* to *sp* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θwāša* 'firmament,' Phl. *spāsar*.

*tv* > *h(h)*.

§ 589. The assimilation of *tv* to *h(h)* is quite frequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, etc. (see § 583). Av. *frapiθwa* 'flourishing,' Phl. *frapīh*, *farpīh*, New Pers. *farbih*.

*Syncope of tv.*

§ 590. The loss of the consonant-group *tv* internally is a very rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Yidg. *cīr*, etc. (see § 583).

*ts* > *c(c)*.

§ 591. The assimilation of *ts* to *c(c)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bībhatsa* 'loathsome,' Pāli *bībhacca*. Skt.

*vatsa* 'calf,' Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Ass. *bāceru* (pron. *bāsrū*), Kaśm. *vač*, Bang. *bacchā*, *vacchā*, E. Hindī *bāchā*, W. Hindī *bacā*, Panj. *baccā*, Sindhī *bacō*, Guj. *baccō*, Mar. *bacrēm*, *vāsrūm*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Phl. *vacak*, *bacak*, Wāxī *vušk*, Sarq. *višk*, Bal. *gvac*, Kurd. *vacahā*, Dig. Oss. *vass*.

*ts* > (c)ch.

§ 592. The assimilation of *ts* to (c)ch is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vatsara* 'year,' Prāk., Pāli *vacchara*. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Bang. *vacchā*, *bacchā*, E. Hindī *bāchā*, etc. (see preceding §).

*ts* > ś(ṣ).

§ 593. The assimilation of *ts* to ś(ṣ) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Wāxī *vušk*, Sarq. *višk*, etc. (see § 591).

*ts* > s(s).

§ 594. The assimilation of *ts* to s(s) is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *utsuka* 'anxious,' Prāk. *ussua*, Māhār. Prāk. *ussuya*, Jaina Prāk. *ussuka*. Skt. *vyutsarga* 'eructation,' Prāk. *viussagga*. Skt. *utsada* 'desire,' Pāli *ussada*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Dig. Oss. *vass*, etc. (see § 591).

*tsy* > (c)c.

§ 595. The assimilation of *tsy* to (c)c is found frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Apab. Prāk. *macchu*, Pāli *maccha*, Ass. *māc* (pron. *mās*), Ur., Bang., Hindī *māch* (vulgar pron. in Bang. *māsō*), Panj. *macch*, Sindhī *machu*, Mar. *māsā*, Sinh. *mas*, Gyp. *macō*.

*tsy* > (c)ch.

§ 596. The assimilation of *tsy* to (c)ch is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Apab. Prāk. *macchu*, Pāli *maccha*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *māch* (vulgar pron. in Bang. *māsō*), Panj. *macch*, Sindhī *machu*, etc. (see preceding §).

*tsy* > *s(s)*.

§ 597. The assimilation of *tsy* to *s(s)* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Ass. *māc* (pron. *mās*), Bang. vulgar pron. *māsō*, Mar. *māsā*, Sinh. *mas*, etc. (see § 595).

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*thy* > *(c)ch*.

§ 598. The assimilation of *thy* to *(c)ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pathya* 'welfare,' Prāk. *paccha*. Skt. *mithyā* 'false,' Prāk. *micchā*, Avant. Prāk. *mitthā*, Pāli *micchā*, Ass. *mica*, Uṛ. *mich*, Bang., Old Hindī *michā*, Sindhī *maṭhyani*, Sinh. *misa*.

*thy* > *s(s)*.

§ 599. The assimilation of *thy* to *s(s)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mithyā* 'false,' Sinh. *misa*, etc. (see preceding §).

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*dg* > *g(g)*.

§ 600. The assimilation of *dg* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is extremely rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mudga* 'kidney-bean,' Prāk., Pāli *mugga*, Uṛ. *mūga*, Bang. *mug*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mūṅg*, Panj. *mugg*, Multānī *muniṅ*, Sindhī *mūnu*, Mar. *mūg*. Skt. *mudgara* 'hammer,' Prāk., Pāli *muggara*, Uṛ. *mōgara*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhī *mūṅirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *madgu* 'cormorant,' New Pers. *māγ*.

*dgh* > *g(g)*.

§ 601. The assimilation of *dgh* to *g(g)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *udghāṭayati* 'opens,' Prāk. *uggaṛ*, *ugghāḍaṛ*, Pāli *ugghāṭēti*, Ur. *uganā*, Sindhī *uḡaṇu*, Guj. *ugaruṇ*, Mar. *ugaviṇēm*.

*ḍgh > (g)gh*.

§ 602. The assimilation of *ḍgh* to *(g)gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *udghāṭayati* 'opens,' Prāk. *ugghāḍaṛ*, Pāli *ugghāṭēti*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *udghōṣa* 'proclamation,' Pāli *ugghōsa*.

*ddh > (t)th*.

§ 603. The assimilation of *ddh* to *(t)th* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuddha* 'pure,' Prāk., Pāli *suddha*, Hindī *sudh*, Sindhī *suthō*.

*ddh > (ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 604. The cerebralization of *ddh* is caused in the great majority of instances by the presence of *r*, *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śraddhā* 'offering to the dead,' Prāk. *saḍḍhā*, *suddhā*, Pāli *saddhā*. Skt. *vṛddhi* 'growth,' Prāk. *vuḍḍhi*, Pāli *vuḍḍhi*, *vuddhi*.

*dm > m(m)*.

§ 605. The assimilation of *dm* to *m(m)* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *nišēm*, *nišēman* 'resting-place' < \**nišīdman*.

*dm > nm*.

§ 606. The assimilation of *dm* to *nm* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhinadmi* 'I split,' Gāthā *bhinanmi*.

*dy > j(j)*.

§ 607. The assimilation of *dy* to *j(j)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vidyut* 'lightning,' Prāk., Pāli *viḷḷu*, Ur. *bijulī*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *bījalī*, Sindhī *vīḷuṇ*, Guj. *viḷulī*, Mar. *bījalī*, *vīj*. Skt. *adya* 'to-day,' Prāk., Pāli *ajja*, Ass. *āji*, Kāśm.

*aj*, *az*, Ur., Bang. *āj*, Old Hindī *āju*, E. Hindī, Hindī *āj*, Panj. *ajj*, Sindhī *ājū*, Guj., Mar. *āj*, Sinh. *ada*. Skt. *dyuti* 'light,' Prāk. *jui*, Pāli *juti*.

$dy > d(d)$ .

§ 608. The assimilation of *dy* to *d(d)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *adya* 'to-day,' Sinh. *ada*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vāidya* 'physician,' Prāk., Pāli *vejja*, Sinh. *veda*.

$dr > j(j)$ .

§ 609. The assimilation of *dr* to *j(j)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindī, Panj. *nīnd*, Sindhī *nīnd*, Mar. *nīj*, *nīd*, Gyp. *lindr*.

$dr > d(d)$ .

§ 610. The assimilation of *dr* to *d(d)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣudra* 'small,' Prāk. *khudḍa*, Pāli *khudda*, Ur. *khudatā*, Bang. *khudā*, Old Sinh. *cuḍi*, Sinh. *kuḍa*, *kudu*. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Pāli *daddu*, Hindī *dād*, Sindhī *ḍarhu*, *ḍaḍhu*, Guj. *dādar*, Mar. *dād*, *dādaḍ*.

$dr > (d)ḍh$ .

§ 611. The assimilation of *dr* to *(d)ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Sindhī *ḍarhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$dr > d(d)$ .

§ 612. The assimilation of *dr* to *d(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindī, Panj. *nīnd*, Mar. *nīd*, *nīj*, etc. (see § 609). Skt. *mudrā* 'seal,' Prāk., Pāli *muddā*. Skt. *drākṣa* 'grape,' Kaśm. *dach*, Hindī, Panj. *dākh*, Sindhī *ḍākh*, Gyp. *drakh*.

$dr > l(l)$ .

§ 613. The assimilation of *dr* to *l(l)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhadra* 'good,' Prāk. *bhaḍḍa*, Pāli *bhadra*,



*bhadda*, Ass. *bhāl*, Ur. *bhala*, Bang. *bhāla*, Hindī, Panj. *bhalā*, Sindhī, Guj. *bhalō*, Mar. *bhalā*. Skt. *chidra* 'hole,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *chidda*, Bihārī *chēd*, Sinh. *hila*.

*dr* > *sr*.

§ 614. The assimilation of *dr* to *sr* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšudra* 'seed,' Phl. *susar*, Gab. *šosr*.

*dr* > *hr*.

§ 615. The assimilation of *dr* to *hr* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baδra* 'portion,' Phl., New Pers. *bahr*.

*dv* > *d(d)*.

§ 616. The assimilation of *dv* to *d(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śādvala* 'grassy,' Pāli *saddala*. Skt. *dvāra* 'door,' Prāk. *dēra*, *duāra*, *dāra*, *bāra*, Pāli *dvāra*, Ur. *dara*, Sindhī *dāru*, *dārī*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *dār*, Sinh. *dēra*, *dora*. Skt. *dvi* 'two,' Prāk. *duve*, Pāli *dvi*, Kaśm. *zah*, Ur., Bang. *dui*, Hindī, Panj. *dō*, Sindhī *ba*, Guj. *bē*, Mar. *dōn*. Skt. *dvīpa*, 'island,' Prāk. *diva*, Pāli *dīpa*, Sinh. *diva*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Old Pers. *duvarā*, Phl., New Pers. *dar*, Gab., Kāš. *bar*, Samn. *barī*, Wāxī *bār*, Šīyn. *divē(r)*, Sarq. *divīr*, Minj. *labra*, Afγ. *var*, Kurd. *bar*, Oss. *dvar*.

*dv* > *b(b)*.

§ 617. The assimilation of *dv* to *b(b)* is frequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dvāra* 'door,' Prāk. *bāra*, *dāra*, *duāra*, *dēra*, Guj. *bār*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *dvādaśan* 'twelve,' Prāk. *bāraha*, Pāli *bārasa*, *dvādasa*, Kaśm. *bāh*, Ur. *bāra*, Bang. *bārō*, Bihārī, Hindī *bārah*, Panj. *bārām*, Sindhī *bāraham*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *bārā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Gab., Kāš. *bar*, Samn. *barī*, Wāxī *bār*, Kurd. *bar*, etc. (see § 616). Skt. *dvēṣas* 'enmity,' Av. *ḡbaēšah*, Phl. *bēš*.

*dv* > *v(v)*.

§ 618. The assimilation of *dv* to *v(v)* is comparatively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *udvēṣṭati* 'surrounds,' Prāk. *uvvellaṣ*. [See now Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, § 107.]

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Afγ. *var*, etc. (see § 616).

*dhy* > (j)*jh*.

§ 619. The assimilation of *dhy* to (j)*jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass. *māj* (pron. *māz*), Kāśm. *mañz*, Uṛ. *mājhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Burh-vānī *maddē*, Bihārī *madhi*, Old Hindī *maddhē*, Hindī *mājhi*, *māñjh*, *mānh*, *māñjhōlā*, Panj. *māñjh*, *majjh*, Sindhī *mañjhu*, Mar. *mājh*, Elu *madu*, Siñh. *māda*, inscriptions *mānda*, Gyp. *maškarē*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *u(v)ajjhāa*, *ojjhāa*, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādhā*, Hindī *ōjhā*, Sindhī *vājhō*. Skt. *budhyati* 'understands,' Prāk. *bujjhaṣ*, Pāli *bujjhati*, Kāśm. *bōji* (pron. *bōzi*), Uṛ. *bujhibā*, Bang. *bājhan*, Hindī *bājhanā*, Panj. *bujjhaṇā*, Sindhī *ḡjhaṇu*, Guj. *bujarun*, Mar. *bujh*. Skt. *dhyāna* 'meditation,' Prāk., Pāli *jhāṇa*, Hindī *samajjhānā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dhyāna* 'meditation,' Phl., New Pers. *jān*.

*dhy* > *d(d)*.

§ 620. The assimilation of *dhy* to *d(d)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Burh-vānī *maddē*, Elu *madu*, Siñh. *mā(n)da*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vidhyati* 'pierces,' Pāli *viñjhati*, Siñh. *vidinavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maiṣya* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*,

Wāxī *malung*, Šīyn. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *mēḍ*, Sangl. *mīda*, Afγ. *mlā*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mīdag*.

*dhy* > (d)dh.

§ 621. The assimilation of *dhy* to (d)dh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Bihārī *madhi*, Old Hindi *maddhē*, etc. (see § 619).

b. Iranian. Av. *maiḍya* 'middle,' Šīyn. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *mēḍ*, etc. (see preceding §).

*dhy* > y(y).

§ 622. The assimilation of *dhy* to y(y) is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maiḍya* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, etc. (see § 620).

*dhy* > l(l).

§ 623. The assimilation of *dhy* to l(l) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maiḍya* 'middle,' Wāxī *malung*, Afγ. *mlā*, etc. (see § 620).

*dhy* > z(z).

§ 624. The assimilation of *dhy* to z(z) occurs with the utmost rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Ass. *māz* (written *māj*), Kaśm. *maṃz*, etc. (see § 619). Skt. *budhyati* 'understands,' Kaśm. *bōzi* (written *bōji*), etc. (see § 619).

*dhy* > h(h).

§ 625. The assimilation of *dhy* to h(h) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Hindī *mām̐h*, *mām̐jh(ōlā)*, *mām̐jh*, *māj̐hi*, etc. (see § 619).

*dhr* > (j)jh.

§ 626. The assimilation of *dhr* to (j)jh is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gṛdhra* 'vulture,' Prāk. *giddha*, Pāli *gijjha*, *gaddha*, *giddha*, Bang. *gīdh*, Hindī *gīdh*, *giddh*, Panj. *giddh*, Sindhī *gījhu*, Guj. *gīd(h)*, Mar. *gīdh*, *gīd*, *gīdhaḍ*.

*dhr* > *d(d)*.

§ 627. The assimilation of *dhr* to *d(d)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥dhra* 'vulture,' Guj. *gīḍ*, *gīdh*, Mar. *gīḍ*, *gīdh*, *gidhaḍ*, etc. (see preceding §).

*dhr* > *(d)dh*.

§ 628. The assimilation of *dhr* to *(d)dh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhruva* 'firm,' Jāina Prāk. *dhruva*. Skt. *gr̥dhra* 'vulture,' Prāk. *giddha*, Pāli *gaddha*, *giddha*, *giḷḷha*, Bang. *gidh*, Hindī *gīdh*, *giddh*, Panj. *giddh*, Guj. *gīdh*, *gīḍ*, Mar. *gīdh*, *gidhaḍ*, *gīḍ*, etc. (see § 626).

*dhv* > *(j)jh*.

§ 629. The assimilation of *dhv* to *(j)jh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Prāk. *jhaya*, *dhaya*, Hindī, Panj. *dhajā*, Guj. *dhajō*, Sinh. *dada*. Skt. *madhvālu* 'yam,' Pāli *majjhāru*.

*dhv* > *d(d)*.

§ 630. The assimilation of *dhv* to *d(d)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Sinh. *dada*, etc. (see preceding §).

*dhv* > *(d)dh*.

§ 631. The assimilation of *dhv* to *(d)dh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Prāk. *dhaya*, *jhaya*, Hindī, Panj. *dhajā*, Guj. *dhajō*, etc. (see § 629). Skt. *adhvan* 'road,' Prāk., Pāli *addhā*.

*nt* > *t(t)*.

§ 632. The assimilation of *nt* to *t(t)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *-ant* term. of pres. part. act., Prāk. *-anta*, Apab. Prāk. *-antu*, Śāur. Prāk. *-andō*, Ass. *-ōmtē*, Nāip. *-ādā*, Kāsm. *-ān*, Ur. *-ant*, Bang. *-it*, E. Hindī *-at*, Old Hindī *-ant*,

Hindī -*atā*, Panj. -*a(n)dā*, Sindhī -*andō*, Multānī -*andā*, -*endā*, Guj. -*atō*, Mar. -*atā*, -*at*, -*īt*.

*nt* > (*t*)*th*.

§ 633. The assimilation of *nt* to (*t*)*th* is not of frequent occurrence.

a. Indian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Waxī *dündük*, Šiyn., Sarq. *ḍandān*, Minj. *land*, Bal. *dantān*, N. Bal. *dathān*, *danthān*, Kurd. *didān*, Tag. Oss. *dandag*. Av. *barəzant* 'high,' New Pers. *buland*, Dig. Öss. *barzanththa* (plural), Tag. *barzaththa*.

\* *nt* > *d(d)*.

§ 634. The assimilation of *nt* to *d(d)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Nāip. -*ādā*, Panj. -*adā*, -*andā*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Kurd. *didān*, etc. (see preceding §).

*nt* > *nd*.

§ 635. The softening of *nt* to *nd* is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Śāur. Prāk. -*andō*, Panj. -*andā*, -*adā*, Sindhī -*andō*, Multānī -*andā*, -*endā*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Waxī *dündük*, Šiyn., Sarq. *ḍandān*, Minj. *land*, Tag. Oss. *dandag*, etc. (see § 633). Av. *jvānt* 'living,' Phl. *zīvāndak*, New Pers. *zindah*, Kāš. *jānda*, Afy. *žvand*.

*nt* > *n(n)*.

§ 636. The assimilation of *nt* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Kaśm. -*ān*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *gainti* 'stench,' Phl., New Pers. *gand*, Afy. *ganda(l)*, Kurd. *gannak* 'castor-oil plant.'

$ntr > n̥r$ .

§ 637. The assimilation of *ntr* to *n̥r* is confined to the Sindhī (cf. § 569).

a. Indian. Skt. *mantra* 'incantation,' Sindhī *maṇṭru*, *maṇḍru*.

$ntr > n̥dr$ .

§ 638. The assimilation of *ntr* to *n̥dr* also is confined to the Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *mantra* 'incantation,' Sindhī *maṇḍru*, *maṇṭru*.

$ntr > r(r)$ .

§ 639. The assimilation of *ntr* to *r(r)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *təθra* 'dark,' Phl., New Pers. *tār*, Minj. *tarāvi*, Afy. *tōr*, Dig. Oss. *thalīnga*, Tag. *thaling*.

$ntr > l(l)$ .

§ 640. The assimilation of *ntr* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *təθra* 'dark,' Dig. Oss. *thalīnga*, Tag. *thaling*, etc. (see preceding §).

$nth > t̪(t)$ .

§ 641. The assimilation of *nth* to *t̪(t)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *granthi* 'knot,' Prāk., Pāli *gaṇṭhi*, Sindhī *gaṇḍhi*, *ghuṇḍi*, Mar. *gaṇṭh*, Siñh. *gāṭayā*.

$nth > n̪ṭh$ .

§ 642. The cerebralization of *nth* is of very unusual occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *granthi* 'knot,' Prāk., Pāli *gaṇṭhi*, Mar. *gaṇṭh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Pāli *gantha*, Uṛ. *gaṇṭha*, Bang. *gāṇṭ*, *gāṇṭh*, Hindī *gāṇṭh*, Panj. *gaṇḍh*, *gaṇḍh*, Sindhī *gaṇḍh*, Guj., Mar. *gāṇṭh*, Siñh. *gata*.

$nth > n̪ḍh$ .

§ 643. The assimilation of *nth* to *n̪ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Panj. *gaṇḍh*, *gaṇḍh*, Sindhī *gaṇḍh*, etc. (see preceding §).



*nth* > *t(t)*.

§ 644. The assimilation of *nth* to *t(t)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Sinh. *gata*, etc. (see § 642).

*nth* > *d(d)*.

§ 645. The assimilation of *nth* to *d(d)* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pantan* 'way,' Phl., New Pers. *pand*, Šiyn. *pund*, Sarq. *pānd*, Sangl. *pandah*, Yidg. *pāduh*, Dig. Oss. *fand*.

*nth* > *nd*.

§ 646. The assimilation of *nth* to *nd* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pantan* 'way,' Phl., New Pers. *pand*, Šiyn. *pund*, Sarq. *pānd*, Sangl. *pandah*, Dig. Oss. *fand*, etc. (see preceding §).

*nth* > *ndh*.

§ 647. The softening of *nth* to *ndh* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pantha* 'way,' Prāk. *pañtha*, Pāli *pantha*, Kāśm. *pāimñh*, *pāmñh*, *pāñth*, Sinh. *pandhu*.

*ndr* > *ṇḍr*.

§ 648. The cerebralization of *ndr* to *ṇḍr* is confined to the Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' Prāk. *canda*, *cañda*, Pāli *canda*, New Ind. dialects *cāṇḍ*, also Kāśm. *čandar*, E. Hindi *cān*, Hindī, Panj. *caṇḍ*, Sindhī *caṇḍu*, *caṇḍru*, Sinh. *sanda*, *handa*, Maladive *ha(n)du*, Gyp. *con*.

*ndr* > *nd*.

§ 649. The assimilation of *ndr* to *nd* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' Prāk. *canda*, *cañda*, Pāli *canda*, New Ind. dialects *cāṇḍ*, also Hindī, Panj. *caṇḍ*, Sinh. *sanda*, *handa*, Maladive *ha(n)du*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ndr > n(n)$ .

§ 650. The assimilation of  $ndr$  to  $n(n)$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' E. Hindī *cān*, Gyp. *con*, etc. (see § 648).

$ndh > t(t)$ .

§ 651. The assimilation of  $ndh$  to  $t(t)$  is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Phl. *baṣṭanō*, New Pers. *bandam*, Māz. *van(n)am*, Gil. *davaddam*, Waxī *vandam*, Šīyn., Sarq. *vindam*, Bal. *bandag*, Kurd. *bandim*, Dig. Oss. *battim*, Tag. *baththin*.

$ndh > (t)th$ .

§ 652. The assimilation of  $ndh$  to  $(t)th$  is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Tag. Oss. *baththin*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ndh > d(d)$ .

§ 653. The assimilation of  $ndh$  to  $d(d)$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Gil. *davaddam*, etc. (see § 651).

$ndh > nd$ .

§ 654. The deaspirization of  $ndh$  is not a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk., Pāli *khandha*, Ass. *kāṃd*, *kāṃdh*, Ur., Bang. *kāṃdh*, Bihārī *kāṃdhā*, *khāṃdā*, Hindī *kāṃdhā*, Panj. *kandhā*, kannh, Sindhī *kandhu*, Guj. *khāṃdō*, Mar. *khāṃdā*, Sinh. *kanda*.

$ndh > n(n)$ .

§ 655. The assimilation of  $ndh$  to  $n(n)$  is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Māz. *van(n)am*, etc. (see § 651).

$ndh > (n)nh$ .

§ 656. The assimilation of  $ndh$  to  $(n)nh$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhi* 'friendship, burglar's mine,' Prāk., Pāli *sandhi*, Ass. *sindhi*, Kaśm. *san*, Ur., Bang. *siṃdh*, E. Hindī *sēnhi*, *sēndh*, Hindī *sēndh*, Panj. *sannh*, Sindhī *sēṃdhi*, Multānī

*sandh.* Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Panj. *kannh*, *kandhā*, etc. (see § 654). Skt., Pāli *andhakāra* 'darkness,' Hindī *aṁdhērā*, *aṁdhīyārā*, Panj. *annhērā*.

*ndhy* > *ṁj(j)*.

§ 657. The assimilation of *ndhy* to *ṁj(j)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhyā* 'twilight,' Prāk. *saṁjhā*, Pāli *saṁjhā*, Ur. *sāṁjh*, Bang. *sāṁj*, *sāṁjh*, Bihārī, Hindī *sāṁjh*, Panj. *saṁjh*, Sindhī *sāṁjhī*, *saṁjhā*, Guj. *sāṁj*, Mar. *sāṁj*, *sāṁjh*.

*ndhy* > *ṁ(j)jh*.

§ 658. The assimilation of *ndhy* to *ṁ(j)jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhyā* 'twilight,' Prāk. *saṁjhā*, Pāli *saṁjhā*, Ur. *sāṁjh*, Bang. *sāṁjh*, *sāṁj*, Bihārī, Hindī *sāṁjh*, Panj. *saṁjh*, Sindhī *saṁjhā*, *sāṁjhī*, Mar. *sāṁjh*, *sāṁj*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *bandhya* 'barren,' Pāli *vaṇjha*, Ass. *bāṁji*, Ur. *bāṁjha*, Bang. *bāṁjhā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bāṁjh*, Panj. *baṁjh*, Guj., Mar. *vāṁjh*.

*nm* > *mm*.

§ 659. The assimilation of *nm* to *mm* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *janman* 'birth,' Prāk., Pāli *jamma*. Skt. *unmārga* 'underground watercourse,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *um-magga*.

b. Iranian. Av. *saēna mərəya* 'eagle-bird,' Phl. *sēnmurv*, New Pers. *sīmurγ*.

*ny* > *ṇj*.

§ 660. The assimilation of *ny* to *ṇj* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kanyā* 'girl,' Māg. Prāk. *kaṇṇakā*, Pāis. Prāk. *kaṇjā*, *kaṇṇakā*, Pāli *kaṇṇā*, Panj. *kaniā*, Sindhī *kaṇā*.

*ny* > *ṇ(ṇ)*.

§ 661. The assimilation of *ny* to *ṇ(ṇ)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kanyā* 'girl,' Māg. Prāk. *kaññakā*, Pāis. Prāk. *kaññakā*, *kañjā*, Pāli *kaññā*, Sindhī *kañā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *anya* 'other,' Prāk. *añña*, *anna*, Pāli *añña*, Old Hindī *ani*, Sinh. *añk(ak)*, *añkek*.

$ny > n(n)$ .

§ 662. The assimilation of *ny* to *n(n)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śūnya* 'empty,' Māhār. Prāk. *suñña*, *sunna*, Pāli *suñña*, Ass. *sunā*, Kāśm. *chōnōī*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sūn(ā)*, Panj. *sunn(ā)*, Sindhī *suñā*, Guj. *śun*, *suñin*, Mar. *sunā*.

$ny > n(n)$ .

§ 663. The assimilation of *ny* to *n(n)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *manyāmi* 'I think,' Jāina Prāk. *mannāmi* (cf. Skt. *manyē*, Prāk. *mannē*, Pāli *maññē*). Skt. *śūnya* 'empty,' Māhār. Prāk. *sunna*, *suñña*, Ass. *sunā*, Kāśm. *chōnōī*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sūn(ā)*, Panj. *sunn(ā)*, Guj. *śun*, *suñin*, Mar. *sunā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *anya* 'other,' Prāk. *anna*, *añña*, Old Hindī *ani*, etc. (see § 661).

b. Iranian. Av. *nyāka* 'grandfather,' Old Pers. *apanyāka*, Phl. *nyāk*, New Pers. *niyā*, Afy. *nika*, Bal. *nākū*, N. Bal. *nāxō*. Av. *anya* 'other,' Old Pers. *aniya*, Pāz. *han*, Oss. *inna*.

$nv > n(n)$ .

§ 664. The assimilation of *nv* to *n(n)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *anvēṣaṇa* 'inquiry,' Māhār. Prāk. *annēsaṇa*.

$pt > ḍ(ḍ)$ .

§ 665. The assimilation of *pt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptaṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-seven,' Prāk. *sattasaṭṭhi*, Kāśm. *satahāṭh*, Ur. *saṭṣaṭhi*, Bang. *sāṭṣaṭṭhi*, Bihārī *sarasath*, *sarasathi*, *satasathi*, Hindī *sarsath*, *satsath*, Panj. *satākaṭ*, Sindhī *sathathi*, Guj. *saḍṣēth*, Mar. *satsaṣṭ*.

$pt > t(t)$ .

§ 666. The assimilation of  $pt$  to  $t(t)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptan* 'seven,' Prāk., Pāli *satta*, Kāśm. *sath*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *sāt*, Panj. *satt*, Sindhī *sat*, Guj., Mar. *sāt*, Sinh. *sata*, *hata*. Skt. *supta* 'asleep,' Prāk., Pāli *sutta*, Sindhī *sutō*.

b. Iranian. Av.  $\sqrt{x^r}ap$  'to sleep,' Phl.  $x^v$ aftanō, New Pers. *xuftan*, Gab. *xuftmūn*, Zaf. *vōft*, Kāš. *xūt*, Vōn. *xuft*, Kuhr. *xut*, Nāy. *havōftand*, Māz. *xūt*, Waxī *rūxpam*, Šiyn. *šovsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Bal. *vapsag*, N. Bal. *vafsay*, Dig. Oss. *xussun*, Tag. *xussin*. Phl. *kaftanō* 'to fall,' Gab. *kaftmūn*, Kāš. *darkatan*, *darkaftan*, Māz. *dakatan*, Gil. *bakaftan*, Bal. *kapag*, Kurd. *katin*.

$pt > d(d)$ .

§ 667. The assimilation of  $pt$  to  $d(d)$  is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *supta* 'asleep,' New Pers. *xuftah*, Afγ. *ūda*. Skt. *tapta* 'warm,' New Pers. *taft*, Afγ. *tōd*, S. Oss. *thafth*.

$pt > (d)dh$ .

§ 668. The assimilation of  $pt$  to  $(d)dh$  is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Waxī *hūb*, (*h*)ub, Šiyn. *vuvd*, Sarq. *ūd*, Sangl. *hoft*, Minj. *uδ*, Yidg. *avduh*, Yaγn. *av*, Afγ. *ōva*, *ava*, Oss. *avd*, Dig. also *aft*.

$pt > pht, ft$ .

§ 669. The spirantization of  $pt$  to  $ft$  occurs not infrequently in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Sangl. *hoft*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, *avd*, etc. (see preceding §).

$pt > phth, fth$ .

§ 670. The double spirantization of  $pt$  to  $phth, fth$ , is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *tapta* 'warm,' S. Oss. *thafth*, etc. (see § 667).

$pt > b(b)$ .

§ 671. The assimilation of  $pt$  to  $b(b)$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Waxī *hūb*, (*h*)*ub*, etc. (see § 668).

$pt > r(r)$ .

§ 672. The assimilation of  $pt$  to  $r(r)$  is excessively rare (cf. § 230).

a. Indian. Skt. *saptaṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-seven,' Bihārī *sarasathī*, *sarasaṭh*, *satasathī*, Hindī *sarsaṭh*, *satsaṭh*, etc. (see § 665).

$pt > v(v)$ .

§ 673. The assimilation of  $pt$  to  $v(v)$  is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Yaγn. *av*, Afγ. *ōva*, *ava*, etc. (see § 668).

$pt > vd$ .

§ 674. The softening of the consonant-group  $pt$  to  $vd$  is not very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Šiγn. *vud*, Sarq. *ūd*, Yidg. *avduh*, Oss. *avd*, etc. (see § 668).

$pn > pp$ .

§ 675. The assimilation of  $pn$  to  $pp$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *svapna* 'sleep,' Pāli *soppa*, *supina*. Skt. *prāpnōti* 'obtains,' Prāk. *pāiṇaī*, *pāraī*, Pāli *pappōti*, *pāpuṇāti*, Uṛ. *pā*, Bang. *pāṓ*, Old Hindī *pāū*, Hindī *pā(v)*, Panj. *pāū*, Sindhī *pā*, Guj. *pām*, Mar. *pāv*, Sinh. *pāminēnavā*.

$pn > f(f)$ .

§ 676. The assimilation of  $pn$  to  $f(f)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *tafnu* 'heat,' New Pers. *taf*.

$pn > m(m)$ .

§ 677. The assimilation of  $pn$  to  $m(m)$  is very rare (cf. § 291).

a. Indian. Skt. *prāpnōti* 'obtains,' Sinh. *pāminēnavā*, etc. (see § 675).



*pn̥y* > *m(m)*.

§ 678. The assimilation of *pn̥y* to *m(m)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšafn̥ya* 'supper,' Phl., New Pers. *šām*.

*py* > *p(p)*.

§ 679. The assimilation of *py* to *p(p)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kupyati* 'is angry,' Prāk. *kuppaī*, Pāli *kup-pati*, Bihārī *kōpāi*. Skt. *tapyatē* 'is warmed,' Pāli *tappati*.

*pr* > *p(p)*.

§ 680. The assimilation of *pr* to *p(p)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prati* 'toward,' Prāk. *paḍi*, Pāli *pati*, *paṭi*, New Ind. dialects *paḍ(i)*. Skt. *apriya* 'offensive,' Prāk. *appia*, Pāli *appiya*. Skt. *prasthāpana* 'sending,' Ur. *paṭhārbā*, Bang. *pāṭhān*, Hindī *paṭhānā*, Sindhī *paṭhanu*, Guj. *pāṭhavun*, Mar. *pāṭavīṇm*.

*pr* > *r(r)*.

§ 681. The assimilation of *pr* to *r(r)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *fra* 'forward,' Phl. *fra*, *far*, New Pers. *far*, *fir*, Pāmir dialects *ra*, Kurd. *hal*, *hil*. Phl. *frōxtanō* 'to sell,' New Pers. *furōxtan*, Zaf. *baxrōš* 'sell!' Vōn. *barūš*, Kuhr. *baxrūš*, Samn. *narūšum*, Māz. *rūš*, *rūt*, N. Bal. *šavaškay*, *šōškay*. Av. *fr̥qš* 'forward,' Phl. *fr̥ac*, Pāz. *fr̥āz*, *fraž*, New Pers. *farāz*, Oss. *razai*.

*pr* > *hl*.

§ 682. The assimilation of *pr* to *hl* is very rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *jafra* 'deep,' Phl. *zufar*, *zafar*, New Pers. *žarf*, Judaeo-Pers. *zōrf*, Afγ. *žavar*, Bal. *juhl*, Kurd. *žōr*, Zaza *jōr*.

$pš > š(š)$ .

§ 683. The assimilation of  $pš$  to  $š(š)$  is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *fšarəma* 'shame,' Phl., New Pers. *šarm*, Dig. Oss. *afsarmi*, Tag. *afsarm*. Av. *\*fšu-pāna* 'shepherd,' Phl. *š(u)pān*, New Pers. *šubān*, Waxī *spūn*, *šüpūn*, Bal. *sipānk*, N. Bal. *šavānkh*, *šafānkh*.

$ps > (c)ch$ .

§ 684. The assimilation of  $ps$  to  $(c)ch$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *apsarā* 'nymph,' Prāk., Pāli *accharā*, Old Hindī *accharī*, *apchar*, Sindhī *apcharā*. Skt. *jugupsati* 'despises,' Prāk. *du(g)ucchaī*, *du(g)umchaī*, Pāli *jigucchatī*.

$ps > bz$ .

§ 685. The softening of  $ps$  to  $bz$  is very rare.

b. Iranian. Lit. *vapsà* 'wasp,' Old High Germ. *wafsa*, Bal. *grabz*, *gramz*.

$ps > mz$ .

§ 686. The assimilation of  $ps$  to  $mz$  is extremely rare (cf. § 291).

b. Iranian. Lit. *vapsà* 'wasp,' Bal. *gramz*, *grabz*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ps > vs$ .

§ 687. The assimilation of  $ps$  to  $vs$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *afsār* 'headstall,' New Pers. *afsār*, Šīyn., Sarq. *arsār*.

$ps > s(s)$ .

§ 688. The assimilation of  $ps$  to  $s(s)$  is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xʷafsata* 'sleep ye!' Phl. *xʷafsītānō*, New Pers. *xuspīdan*, Šīyn. *šorsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Bal. *vapsag*, N. Bal. *vafsaγ*, Dig. Oss. *xussun*, Tag. *xussin*.

$pstr > str$ .

§ 689. The assimilation of  $pstr$  to  $str$  is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xrafstra* 'noxious beast,' Phl. *xrafstr*, New Pers. (Pārsi) *xarāstar*, archaic *xrafstar*.

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$fs > ps$ .

§ 690. The hardening of Iranian  $fs$  to  $ps$  occurs very seldom.

b. Iranian. Av. *xʷafsata* 'sleep ye!' Bal. *vapsag*, etc. (see § 688).

$bj > j(j)$ .

§ 691. The assimilation of  $bj$  to  $j(j)$  is found but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Prāk., Pāli *khujja*, Kāśm. *kobb*, Ur. *kūjā*, Bang. *ku(m)jā*, *kubja*, Hindī *kubjā*, *kubbā*, *kubrā* (rare), Panj. *kubbā*, *kābā*, Sindhī *kuḃō*, Guj. *kubarō*, Mar. *khub*, *kubaḷā*.

$bj > bḷ$ .

§ 692. The assimilation of  $bj$  to  $bḷ$  is very rare (cf. § 182).

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Hindī *kubrā* (rare), *kubbā*, *kubjā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$bj > b(b)$ .

§ 693. The assimilation of  $bj$  to  $b(b)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Kāśm. *kobb*, Hindī *kubbā*, *kubjā*, *kubrā*, Panj. *kubbā*, *kābā*, Sindhī *kuḃō*, Mar. *khub*, *kubaḷā*, etc. (see § 691).

$bd > d(d)$ .

§ 694. The assimilation of  $bd$  to  $d(d)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śabda* 'word,' Prāk., Pāli *sadda*, Old Hindī *sād*.

$bdh > (d)dh$ .

§ 695. The assimilation of  $bdh$  to  $(d)dh$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *labdha* 'received,' Prāk., Pāli *laddha*, Sindhī *ladhō*.

$br > b(b)$ .

§ 696. The assimilation of  $br$  to  $b(b)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. *bambhaṇa*, inscriptions of Kapur di Giri *bamana*, Jaina Prāk. *māhaṇa*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*, Bihārī *bāman*, *bānhan*, *bāmahan*, Sindhī *ḥāmḥaṇu*, Sinh. *banba*.

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*bhy > (b)bh.*

§ 697. The assimilation of *bhy* to *(b)bh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *abhyantara* 'internal,' Prāk., Pāli *abbhantara*, Uṛ., Bang. *bhitari*, Bihārī, Hindī *bhitar*, Guj. *bhitar*, Mar. *bhitari*. Skt. *labhyatē* 'is taken,' Prāk. *labbhaṭ*, Pāli *labbhati*, Old Hindī *labbh*, Sindhī *labh*.

*bhr > b(b).*

§ 698. The assimilation of *bhr* to *b(b)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk., Pāli *bhamara*, Uṛ. *bhamara*, Bang. *bhāmar*, Hindī, Panj. *bhamvar*, *bhāumr*; Sindhī *bhāumru*, Mar. *bhōmr*, Sinh. *bambarā*.

*bhr > (b)bh.*

§ 699. The assimilation of *bhr* to *(b)bh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhrātar* 'brother,' Prāk. *bhāā*, Pāli *bhātā*, New Ind. dialects *bhāī*, also Panj. *bhrāū*, Sindhī *bhāū*, Mar. *bhāū*, Gyp. *phral*. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk., Pāli *bhamara*, Uṛ. *bhamara*, Bang. *bhāmar*, Hindī, Panj. *bhamvar*, *bhāumr*, Sindhī *bhāumru*, Mar. *bhōmr*, etc. (see preceding §).

*bhr > vr.*

§ 700. The assimilation of *bhr* to *vr* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *bhāt(ar)*, New Pers. *birādar*, Kāš. *barō*, *barāi*, Gil. *brār*, Waxī *vrūt*, Šīyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurđ*, Yidg. *vrai*, Yaṣn. *virāt*, Afγ. *vrōr*,

Bal. *brāt*, N. Bal. *brās*, *brāḡ*, Kurd. *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*. Av. *awra* 'cloud,' Phl., New Pers. *abr*; Gab., Kāš. *avr*, Judæo-Pers. *abr*, Afy. *varyaǰ*, Bal. *havr*; Kurd. (*h*)*avr*, *hāūr*, Oss. *arv*.

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*mn > mm.*

§ 701. The assimilation of *mn* to *mm* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *kamna* 'small,' Phl., New Pers. *kam*.

*mp > p(p).*

§ 702. The assimilation of *mp* to *p(p)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *parampara* 'reciprocal,' Pāli *parampara*, Sinh. *parapura*. Skt. *campaka* 'sort of tree,' Apab. Prāk. *caṃpayu*, Pāli *campaka*, Sinh. *sapu*.

*mp > mb.*

§ 703. The softening of *mp* to *mb* is quite a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kampati* 'trembles,' Prāk. *kampaṛi*, Pāli *kampati*, Ass. *kaṃp*, Kāšm. *kaṃ(p)*, Uṛ. *kamp*, Bang. *kāṃp*, Hindī *kāṃp*, Panj. *kamb*, Sindhī *kamb*, Guj., Mar. *kāṃp*.

b. Iranian. Av. *hampāfrāiti* (intens.) 'fills,' Phl., New Pers. *ambāštan* (written *anbāštan*).

*mb > b(b).*

§ 704. The assimilation of *mb* to *b(b)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kambala* 'blanket,' Prāk., Pāli *kambala*, Uṛ. *kamālā*, Bang. *kambal*, *kaṃli*, E. Hindī *kammar*, Hindī *kammāl*, *kaṃbal*, Panj. *kammāl*, *kaṃbal*, Sindhī *kamari*, Guj. *kābalā*, *kāmāl*, *kamālī*, Mar. *kāmbalā*.

*mb > m(m).*

§ 705. The assimilation of *mb* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ālambana* 'support,' Pāli *ārammana*. Skt. *jāmbuka* 'rose-apple,' Ass. *jāmu*, Bang. *jām*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *jāmun*, Sindhī *jāmān*, Guj. *jāmbu*, Mar. *jāmb*. Skt. *kambala* 'blanket,' Uṛ. *kaṃaḷa*, E. Hindī *kaṃmar*, Hindī *kammāl*, *kaṃbal*, Panj. *kammāl*, *kaṃbal*, Sindhī *kaṃari*, Guj. *kāmaḷ*, *kaṃalī*, *kābalō*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *nimba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *liṃba*, Pāli *nimba*, Bihārī *nīm*, Hindī *līm*, *nīm*, Sindhī *limu*, Guj. *liṃbaḍō*, Mar. *liṃb*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *šikumb* 'stomach,' New Pers. *šikum*, Kurd. *zik*. New Pers. *hambāz* 'comrade,' Kurd. *hamēs*, *xamēz*.

*mbh* > *m(m)*.

§ 706. The assimilation of *mbh* to *m(m)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Prāk. *kumbhaāra*, *kumbhāra*, Pāli *kumbhakāra*, Ass. *kumār*, Nāip. *kumāmlyē*, Uṛ. *kumhāra*, *kuhmāra*, Bang. *kumār*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *kumhār*, Sindhī *kum̐hāru*, Guj., Mar. *kumhār*.

*mbh* > *mh*.

§ 707. The assimilation of *mbh* to *mh* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Uṛ. *kumhāra*, *kuhmāra*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *kumhār*, etc. (see preceding §).

*mbh* > *hm*.

§ 708. The assimilation of *mbh* to *hm* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Uṛ. *kuhmāra*, *kumhāra*, etc. (see § 706).

*mr* > *mbr* > *mb*.

§ 709. Insertion of *b* in the group *mr* and subsequent assimilation to *mb* is found in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Prāk. *tamba*, *tambira*, Pāli *tamba*, Ass. *tām*, Kaśm. *trām*, Uṛ. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Sindhī *ṭāmō*, Guj. *tāmbuṃ*, Mar. *tāmbēm*, Sinhi. *tāmbara*. Skt. *āmra* 'mango,' Prāk., Pāli



*amba*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *ām*, *aṁb*, Panj. *amab*, Sindhī *ambu*, Larī *āmō*, *āmū*, Guj. *āmbō*, Mar. *āmbā*, Sinh. *aṁba*.

$mr > mbr > m(m)$ .

§ 710. Insertion of *b* in the group *mr* and subsequent assimilation to *m(m)* is found in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Ass. *tām*, Kaśm. *trām*, Ur. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Sindhī *ṭāmō*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *āmra* 'mango,' Ur., Bang. *ām*, *aṁb*, Larī *āmō*, *āmū*, etc. (see preceding §).

$mv > m(m)$ .

§ 711. The assimilation of *mv* to *m(m)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *hamvārah* 'ever' beside *hamārah*.

$ṁh > ṁgh$ .

§ 712. The assimilation of *ṁh* to *ṁgh* is found occasionally in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *siṁha* 'lion,' Prāk. *sīha*, Māhār. Prāk. *siṁgha*, *sīha*, Pāli *sīha*, Gāthā *sīṁha*, Kaśm. *suh*, Bihārī, E. Hindī *sṁgh*, *siṁgh*, *sīṁh*, Panj. *siṁgh*, other New Ind. dialects *siṁh* (pron. and often written *siṁgh*).

$rk > k(k)$ .

§ 713. The assimilation of *rk* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is very rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *arka* 'sun,' Prāk., Pāli *akka*. Skt. *karkara* 'gravel,' Ass., Nāip. *kāṁkar*, Bang. *kāṁkar*. Skt. *karkaṭa* 'crab,' Pāli *kakkataka*, Ur., Bang. *kāṁkarā*, E. Hindī *kēkarā*, *kēkarā*, Hindī *kāṁkarā*, Sindhī *kāṁkarō*. Skt. *karkaṭikā* 'cucumber,' Ur., Bang. *kā(ṁ)kuḍī*, Hindī, Panj. *ka(k)kaḍī*, Sindhī *kakiḍī*, Guj., Mar. *kākaḍī*. Skt. *śarkara* 'sugar,' Pāli *sakkara*, *sakkhara*, New Ind. dialects *sakkar*, except Mar. *sākhar*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *sirkah* 'vinegar' beside *sikah*.

$rk > (k)kh$ .

§ 714. The assimilation of  $rk$  to  $(k)kh$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śarkara* 'sugar,' Pāli *sakkhara*, *sakkara*, Mar. *sākhar*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rk > t(t)$ .

§ 715. The change of  $rk$  to  $t(t)$  is extremely rare (cf. § 119?).

a. Indian. Skt. *kurkura* 'dog' besides *kukkura*, Pāli *kukkura*, Bang. *kuttā*, *kukkur*, Bihārī *kutta*, *kuk(k)ar*, Hindī *kuttā*, *kukkā*, Sindhī *kutō*, Guj. *kuṭrō*, Mar. *kuṭrā*.

$rk > tr$ .

§ 716. The change of  $rk$  to  $tr$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kurkura*, *kukkura* 'dog,' Guj. *kuṭrō*, Mar. *kuṭrā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rg > g(g)$ .

§ 717. The assimilation of  $rg$  to  $g(g)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *varga* 'row,' Prāk., Pāli *ragga*. Skt. *mārga-yati* 'seeks,' Prāk. *maggañ*, Pāli *maggati*, *maggēti*, Ass. *māg*, Kāśm. *maṅg*, Uṛ. *māg*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *māṅg*, Panj. *maṅg*, Sindhī *maṇ*, Guj., Mar. *māg*, Gyp. *mang*.

$rgr > (g)gh$ .

§ 718. The assimilation of  $rgr$  to  $(g)gh$  is found but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirgrantha* 'ascetic,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi) *nighamta*.

$rgk > g(g)$ .

§ 719. The assimilation of  $rgk$  to  $g(g)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahārgha* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahaṅgā*, *magar*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahaṅgā*, Panj. *mahiṅgā*, Sindhī *mahaṅgō*, Guj. *mōṁghuṁ*, Mar. *mahāg*, Māladive *agu*.

$rg̃h > (g)gh$ .

§ 720. The assimilation of  $rg̃h$  to  $(g)gh$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirghṛṇa* 'pitiless,' Prāk. *nigghṛṇa*. Skt. *argha* 'sacrifice,' Pāli *aggha*. Skt. *dirgha* 'long,' Prāk. *diggha*, *ḍiṭha*, Pāli *ḍiḥha*, Sindhī *ḍirighō*.

$rg̃h > h(l)h$ .

§ 721. The assimilation of  $rg̃h$  to  $h(l)h$  is extremely rare (cf. § 152).

a. Indian. Skt. *dirgha* 'long,' Prāk. *ḍiṭha*, *diggha*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rj > j(j)$ .

§ 722. The assimilation of  $rj$  to  $j(j)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *garjita* 'must-elephant,' Prāk. *gajjida*, Pāli *gajjita*. Skt. *garjana* 'thunder,' Pāli *gajjana*, Hindī *gājanā*, Panj. *gajjanā*, Sindhī *gaṛjanu*, Guj. *gājavuṇ*, Mar. *gājaṇeṇ*.

$rj > rz$ .

§ 723. The change of  $rj$  to  $rz$  is very rare (cf. § 185).

b. Iranian. Av. *arəjah* 'value,' Phl. *arj*, Pāz. *arzān*, New Pers. *arz*, Kāš. *ažū*, *ajiyā*, *ajiyō*, Afγ. *yarz*.

$rj > ž(ž)$ .

§ 724. The assimilation of  $rj$  to  $ž(ž)$  is extremely rare (cf. § 186).

b. Iranian. Av. *arəjah* 'value,' Kāš. *ažū*, *ajiyā*, *ajiyō*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rjh > (j)jh$ .

§ 725. The assimilation of  $rjh$  to  $(j)jh$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirjhara* 'cascade,' Prāk., Pāli *nijjhara*.

$rṇ > ṇ(n)$ .

§ 726. The assimilation of  $rṇ$  to  $ṇ(n)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *suvarṇa* 'gold,' Prāk. *suvaṇṇa*, Pāli *soṇṇa*, *svaṇṇa*, Kāśm. *son*, Ur. *sunā*, *sōnā*, Bang. *sōṇā*, Hindī, Panj. *sōnā*, Sindhī *sō(n)nu*, Guj. *sōnu*, Mar. *sāunam*, *sōnēm*, Gyp. *somnakāy*.

$rṇ > n(n)$ .

§ 727. The assimilation of  $rṇ$  to  $n(n)$  is very frequent in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇa* 'ear,' Pāli *kaṇṇa*, Ur., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *kān*, Panj. *kann*, Sindhī *kanu*, Guj., Mar. *kan*, Gyp. *kan*. Skt. *tāmraparṇa* 'copper-leaf, Ceylon,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar, Khālsi, and Kapur di Giri) *tāmbapa(n)ni*, Pāli *tambapaṇṇī* (Gr. Ταμροβάνη). Skt. *suvarṇa* 'gold,' Kāśm. *son*, Ur. *sunā*, *sōnā*, Hindī, Panj. *sōnā*, Sindhī *sō(n)nu*, Guj. *sōnu*, Mar. *sāunam*, *sōnēm*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ūrṇa* 'wool,' Pāli *uṇṇa*, Hindī *ūn*, Panj. *unn*, Sindhī, Guj. *un*.

$rṇ > r(r)$ .

§ 728. The assimilation of  $rṇ$  to  $r(r)$  is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cūrṇa* 'powder,' Prāk., Pāli *cunṇa*, Kāśm. *čān*, Ur. *curā*, Bang. *cūr*, Hindī *cūrā*, Panj. *cūr*, Sindhī *cūrō*, Guj. *curō*, Mar. *cūr*, but also with the signification 'lime,' Ur., Bang. *cunā*, Hindī, Panj. *cūnā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cūnō*, *cūṇō*, Mar. *cunā*, *cūṇā*. Skt. *pūrṇa* 'full,' Pāli *puṇṇa*, Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *pūrā*, Sindhī *pūrō*, Guj. *purō*, Mar. *purā*.

$rt > rth$ .

§ 729. The aspirization of  $rt$  to  $rth$  is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sart*, New Pers. *sard*, Waxī *sür(ī)*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sarth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*.

$rt > t(t)$ .

§ 730. The assimilation of  $rt$  to  $t(t)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nartakī* 'dancing-girl,' Prāk. *nattāi*, Pāli

*naṭṭakī*, New Ind. dialects *naṭī*. Skt. *vartakā* 'quail,' Pāli *vaṭṭakā*, Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *vaṭēr*, Sindhī *baṭērō*, Sinh. *vaṭuvā*.

$rt > ḍ(d)$ .

§ 731. The assimilation of *rt* to *ḍ(d)* is extremely rare (cf. § 226).

a. Indian. Skt. *garta* 'ditch,' Prāk. *gaḍḍa*, Ur. *gaḍibā*, Bang. *gaḍ*, Hindī *gaḍ*, *gāḍā*, Panj. *gaḍḍanā*, Sindhī *gāraṇu*, Guj. *gāravuṃ*, Mar. *gāraṇēm*.

$rt > t(t)$ .

§ 732. The assimilation of *rt* to *t(t)* is very common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *muhūrta* 'instant,' Prāk., Pāli *muhutta*. Skt. *āvarta* 'whirlpool,' Pāli *āvatta*, *āvaṭṭa*. Skt. *vartikā* 'wick,' Prāk. *vattiā*, Pāli *vaṭṭikā*, Ur. *bati*, Bang. *bātī*, Hindī, Panj. *battī*, Sindhī *vaṭī*, Guj. *bati*, Mar. *batti*. Skt. *kartarī* 'scissors,' Prāk. *kattarī*, Ur. *katurā*, Bang. *kataran*, Hindī, Panj. *kataranī*, Sindhī *katari*, Mar. *kātar*.

$rt > ḍ(d)$ .

§ 733. The assimilation of *rt* to *ḍ(d)* is extremely rare (cf. § 228).

b. Iranian. Av. *karṣta* 'knife,' Phl. *kārt*, New Pers. *kārd*, Šiyn. *cēd*, Kurd. *kīrd*, *kīr*, Oss. *khard*.

$rt > rd$ .

§ 734. The softening of *rt* to *rd* is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karṣta* 'knife,' New Pers. *kārd*, Kurd. *kīrd*, *kīr*, Oss. *khard*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vartakā* 'quail,' Phl. *varṭak*, New Pers. *vardīj*, Waxī *volc*, Afy. *nvaraz*, Bal. *gvardāg*, Kurd. *vardī*.

$rt > r(r)$ .

§ 735. The assimilation of *rt* to *r(r)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarṣta* 'cold,' Waxī *sūr(ī)*, Kurd. *sār*, etc.

(see § 729). Av. *karəta* 'knife,' Kurd. *kīr*, *kīrd*, etc. (see § 733).

*rt* > *l(l)*.

§ 736. The assimilation of *rt* to *l(l)* is extremely rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *pərətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhr*, *puhl*, New Pers. *pul*, Gil. *purd*, Kurd. *pēl*, *par*, *pīrd*, *purd*.

*rt* > *ld*.

§ 737. The softening of *rt* to *ld* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Tag. Oss. *salđ*, etc. (see § 729).

*rt* > *hl*.

§ 738. The change of *rt* to *hl* is found occasionally (cf. §§ 227, 742).

b. Iranian. Av. *pərətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhl*, *puhr*, etc. (see § 736).

*rth* > *t(t)*.

§ 739. The assimilation of *rth* to *t(t)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *artha* 'object,' Prāk. *attha*, *aṭṭha* (cf. inscriptions of Kapur di Giri *anaṭha*), Pāli *aṭṭa*, *aṭṭha*, *attha*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cottha*, Pāli *catuttha*, Uṛ. *cāuṭhā*, Bang. *cāuṭā*, Hindī, Panj. *cāuṭhā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāumṭhā*.

*rth* > *(t)ṭh*.

§ 740. The assimilation of *rth* to *(t)ṭh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *artha* 'object,' Prāk. *aṭṭha*, *attha* (Kapur di Giri) *anaṭha*, Pāli *aṭṭha*, *attha*, *aṭṭa*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cauṭṭha*, *cottha*, Śaur. Prāk. *caduṭṭha*, Uṛ. *cāuṭhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

*rth* > *(t)th*.

§ 741. The assimilation of *rth* to *(t)th* is the normal one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cottha*, Pāli *catuttha*,



Hindī, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāwñthā*, etc. (see § 739).

*rth* > *hl*.

§ 742. The change of *rth* to *hl* occurs with extreme rarity in the Iranian dialects (cf. §§ 354, 245, 956).

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *parthava* nom. prop., Phl., New Pers. *pahlav*. Skt. *samartha* 'suitable,' New Pers. *hamāl*.

*rd* > *ḍ(ḍ)*

§ 743. The assimilation of *rd* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *chardati* 'rejects,' Prāk. *chaḍḍati*, Pāli *chaḍḍeti*, Ass. *cār* (pron. *sār*), Kaśm. *char*, *čar*, Uṛ. *chār*, Old Hindī *chanḍ*, E. Hindī, Hindī *chāñr*, Panj. *chaḍḍ*, Sindhī *chaḍ*, Mar. *sāñr*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pāli *gaḍḍabha*, but *gaddabhaṇḍa*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Uṛ. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddā*, Sindhī *gaḍḍahu*, Guj. *gadhērō*, Mar. *gāḍhav*, Gyp. *khel*, *kher*, (*k*)*fer*.

*rd* > (*ḍ*)*dh*.

§ 744. The assimilation of *rd* to (*ḍ*)*dh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Mar. *gāḍhav*, etc. (see preceding §).

*rd* > *d(ḍ)*.

§ 745. The assimilation of *rd* to *d(ḍ)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturdaśa* 'fourteen,' Prāk. *caṭṭdaha*, Pāli *catuddasa*, *cōddasa*, *cuddasa*, Kaśm. *čōdāh*, Uṛ. *cāuda*, Bang. *cāudda*, Bihārī, Hindī *cāudah*, Panj. *cāudām*, Sindhī *cōḷahan*, Guj. *caṭḍ*, Mar. *cāudā*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Panj. *gaddā*, *gadhā*, etc. (see § 743).

*rd* > (*d*)*dh*.

§ 746. The assimilation of *rd* to (*d*)*dh* is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Ass. *gādh*, Ur. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddā*, Guj. *gadhērō*, etc. (see § 743).

$rd > r(r)$ .

§ 747. The assimilation of *rd* to *r(r)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kapardikā* 'small shell,' Prāk. *kavaḍḍa*, E. Hindī, Hindī *kāurī*, *kāurī*, Anglo-Ind. *cowry*.

$rd > l(l)$ .

§ 748. The assimilation of *rd* to *l(l)* is exceedingly rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is not infrequent (cf. §§ 354, 258).

a. Indian. Skt. *balivarda* 'bull,' Prāk. *bailla*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəda* 'year,' Phl., New Pers. *sāl*, Dig. Oss. *sarda*, Tag. *sard*.

$rdh > ḍ(ḍ)$ .

§ 749. The assimilation of *rdh* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Prāk. *vaḍḍhai*, Pāli *vaḍḍhati*, Ass. *bārḥ*, Kaśm. *baḍ*, Ur. *barḥ*, Bang. *baḍ*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bāḍh*, W. Hindī *barḥ*, Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *vaḍh*, Mar. *bāḍh*. Skt. *sārdha* 'plus one-half,' Prāk. *saddha*, *saddha*, Kaśm. *sādū*, Ur. *sārḥē*, Bang. *sārē*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sārḥē*, Panj. *sāḍhē*, Sindhī *sāḍhā*, Guj. *sāḍā*, Mar. *sāḍē*, Simh. *aḍa*.

$rdh > (ḍ)ḍh$ .

§ 750. The assimilation of *rdh* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Prāk. *vaḍḍhai*, Pāli *vaḍḍhati*, Ass. *bārḥ*, Ur. *barḥ*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bāḍh*, W. Hindī *barḥ*, Mar. *bāḍh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vardhaki* 'carpenter,' Ur., Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *barḥai*, Panj. *baḍḍhī*, Sindhī, Guj. *vāḍhō*, Mar. *varḥai*. Skt. *sārdha* 'plus one-half,' Prāk. *saddha*,

*saddha*, Ur., E. Hindī, Hindī *sāṛhē*, Panj. *sāḍhē*, Sindhī *sāḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rdh > (d)dh$ .

§ 751. The assimilation of *rdh* to  $(d)dh$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *vadh*, etc. (see § 749).

$rdhv > (d)dh$ .

§ 752. The assimilation of *rdhv* to  $(d)dh$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrdhva* 'high,' Prāk., Pāli *uddha*, *ubbha*, Sindhī *ubhō*, Guj. *ubhun*, Mar. *ubhā*.

$rdhv > (b)bh$ .

§ 753. The assimilation of *rdhv* to  $(b)bh$  is frequent in the Indian dialects ( $rdhv > ddhv > ddhb > dhb > bbh$ ).

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrdhva* 'high,' Prāk., Pāli *ubbha*, *uddha*, Sindhī *ubhō*, Guj. *ubhun*, Mar. *ubhā*.

$rn > n(n)$ .

§ 754. The assimilation of *rn* to  $n(n)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in Afyān, which has borrowed the cerebral row from the Indian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəna* 'deaf,' New Pers. *kar(r)*, Laym. *kanna*, Sarq. *cūnn*, Afy. *kōn*, *kūn*, Oss. *kurmatha*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Phl., New Pers. *par(r)*, Gab., Waxī *par*, Afy. *pāna*, Bal. *pan*, Kurd. *par*, Zaza *pal*.

$rn > n(n)$ .

§ 755. The assimilation of *rn* to  $n(n)$  is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəna* 'deaf,' Laym. *kanna*, Sarq. *cūnn*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ūrṇa* 'wool,' Šīn. *vūn*, *vōn*, Sarq. *vōn*. Av. *parəna* 'full,' Phl., New Pers. *par*, Yayn. *pun*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Bal. *pan*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rn > r(r)$ .

§ 756. The assimilation of  $rn$  to  $r(r)$  is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *darəna* 'gullet,' New Pers. *darrak*, Waxī *δōr*, Sarq. *dar*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Phl., New Pers. *par(r)*, Gab., Waxī, Kurd. *par*, etc. (see § 754). Av. *xʷarənah* 'glory,' Old Pers. *viḍa*] *farnah*, Phl. *farn*] *bag*, New Pers. *far(r)*.

$rn > l(l)$ .

§ 757. The assimilation of  $rn$  to  $l(l)$  is very rare (cf. §§ 354, 281).

b. Iranian. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Zaza *pal*, etc. (see § 754).

$rp > p(p)$ .

§ 758. The assimilation of  $rp$  to  $p(p)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarpa* 'serpent,' Prāk., Pāli *sappa*, Ur., Bang. *sāp*, Hindī *sāṁp*, Panj. *sapp*, Sindhī *sapu*, Guj., Mar. *sāp*, Sinh. *sapu*, *sap(ā)*, *hapu*, Gyp. *sap*. Skt. *karpūra* 'camphor,' Prāk., Pāli *kappūra*, New Ind. dialects *kapūr*, except Mar. *kāpūr*.

$rb > b(b)$ .

§ 759. The assimilation of  $rb$  to  $b(b)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *arbuda* 'ten million raised to the eighth power,' Pāli *abbuda*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dūbar*, Hindī *dublā*, Panj. *dubbal*, Sindhī *ḍubīrō*, *ḍabalō*, Guj., Mar. *dubal*.

$rbh > (b)bh$ .

§ 760. The assimilation of  $rbh$  to  $(b)bh$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dial

a. Indian. Skt. *garbha* 'uterus,' Prāk., Pāli *gabbha*, Hindī *garabh*, *gābh*, Panj. *gabbh*, *gābh*, *garabh*, Sindhī *gābhu*, *garabhu*, Guj., Mar. *gābh*, cf. also Gyp. *khabnī* 'pregnant.'

$rm > m(m)$ .

§ 761. The assimilation of  $rm$  to  $m(m)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *carman* 'skin,' Prāk., Pāli *camma*, New Ind. dialects *cām*, excepting Panj. *camm*, Sindhī *camu*, Sinh. *sama*, *hama*. Skt. *karman* 'deed,' Prāk., Pāli *kamma*, New Ind. dialects *kām*, excepting Panj. *kamm*, Sindhī *kamu*, Sinh. *kama*.

$rm > r(r)$ .

§ 762. The assimilation of  $rm$  to  $r(r)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *carəman* 'skin,' Phl. *carmān*, New Pers. *carm*, Afy. *čarman*, Tag. Oss. *čar*, *čarm*. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Old Pers. *garma-*, New Pers., Šiyn. *garm*, Sarq. *gürm*, *žürm*, Afy. *yārma*, Bal. *garm*, Dig. Oss. *yar*, *yarm*, Tag. *qarm*.

$ry > j(j)$ .

§ 763. The assimilation of  $ry$  to  $j(j)$  is very rare (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārya* 'business,' Prāk. *kajja*, Māg. Prāk. *kayyē*, Śaur. Prāk. *kēra*, Pāli *kayya*, *kāriya*, *kayira*, Hindī, Panj. *kāj*, *kāraj*, Sindhī *kārju*, Guj. *kāj*, *kāraj*, Mar. *kāj*.

$ry > r(r)$ .

§ 764. The assimilation of  $ry$  to  $r(r)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tūrya* 'trumpet,' Prāk. *tūra*, Pāli *tūriya*, Ur. *turī*, Bang. *turum*, Hindī *tūrī*, *tūrahī*, Panj. *tūram*, Sindhī, Guj. *turī*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *suja*, *sūria*, Pāli *suriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhī *sūrju*, *sūriju*, Guj. *sūr*, *suraj*, Sinh. *(h)iru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *cīrya* 'brave,' Phl., New Pers. *cīr*. Av. *airya* 'noble,' Oss. *ir*.

$ry > rj$ .

§ 765. The change of  $ry$  to  $rj$  is not unknown to the Indian dialects (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārya* 'business,' Sindhī *kārju* (cf. also Hindī, Panj., Guj. *kāraj*, *kāj*), etc. (see § 763). Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Sindhī *sūrju*, *sūriju* (cf. also Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Guj. *suraj*, *sūr*), etc. (see preceding §).

*ry* > *l(l)*.

§ 766. The assimilation of *ry* to *l(l)* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects (cf. § 354).

a. Indian. Skt. *paryāṅka* 'bed,' Prāk. *pallan̄ka*, Ardhamāg. Prāk. *paliān̄ka*, Pāli *pallan̄ka*, New Ind. *palan̄g*, Anglo-Ind. *palanquin*. Skt. *paryāṇa* 'saddle,' Prāk. *pallāṇa*, Uṛ. *palāṇa*, Bang. *pālāṇ*, Hindī *pālān*, Panj. *palāṇ*, Sindhī *palāṇu*, Guj. *palāṇ(ō)*, Mar. *pālāṇ*.

*rv* > *p(p)*.

§ 767. The hardening of *rv* to *p(p)* is very rare (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *carvayati* 'chews,' Pāli *cappēti*, Uṛ. *cōbā*, Bang., Hindī *cāb*, Panj. *cabb*, Sindhī *caḅ*, Guj., Mar. *cāv*, Sinh. *sapanavā*, *hapanavā*.

*rv* > *b(b)*.

§ 768. The assimilation of *rv* to *b(b)* is not very frequent (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *carvayati* 'chews,' Uṛ. *cōbā*, Bang., Hindī *cāb*, Panj. *cabb*, Sindhī *caḅ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *parvata* 'mountain,' Pāli *pabbata*, Sinh. *pava*. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Prāk. *sarva*, Pāli *sabba*, Ass. *sab*, Uṛ. *sabu*, Bang. *sab*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sab*, *sabh*, Panj. *sabh*, *sarab*, Sindhī *sabhu*, Gyp. *savorō*.

*rv* > *(b)bh*.

§ 769. The assimilation of *rv* to *(b)bh* is extremely rare (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Hindī, E. Hindī *sabh*, *sab*, Panj. *sabh*, *sarab*, Sindhī *sabhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

*rv* > *rbh*.

§ 770. The change of *rv* to *rbh* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *parvan* 'festival,' Pāli *pabba*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *parab*, Sindhī *pirbhu*, Guj., Mar. *parv*.



$rv > r(r)$ .

§ 771. The assimilation of  $rv$  to  $r(r)$  is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *haurva* 'all,' Old Pers. *haruva*, Phl., New Pers. *har*.

$rv > v(v)$ .

§ 772. The assimilation of  $rv$  to  $v(v)$  is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Prāk. *sarva*, etc. (see § 768). Skt. *parvata* 'mountain,' Sinh. *pava*, etc. (see § 768).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *yārvar* 'friend' besides *yāvar*.

$rś > ṁs$ .

§ 773. The change of  $rś$  to  $ṁs$  is very rare in Indian.

a. Indian. Skt. *darśana* 'sight,' Prāk. *daṁsana*, Ass. *dar-sana* (pron. *darhana*), Sindhī *darsaṇu*.

$rś > s(s)$ .

§ 774. The assimilation of  $rś$  to  $s(s)$  is quite common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sparśana* 'touch,' Prāk. *phāsa*, Pāli *phassa*, Hindī, Panj. *phamsanā*, Sindhī *phasañu*, Guj. *phasavun*, Mar. *phasañṇm*.

$rśv > s(s)$ .

§ 775. The assimilation of  $rśv$  to  $s(s)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pārśva* 'side,' Prāk. *pāsa*, Hindī *pās*, Panj. *pās*, *pāh*, Sindhī, Guj. *pāsē*, Mar. *pālas*, *pāsīm*, Gyp. *paš*.

$rśv > h(h)$ .

§ 776. The assimilation of  $rśv$  to  $h(h)$  is exceedingly rare (cf. § 401).

a. Indian. Skt. *pārśva* 'side,' Panj. *pāh*, *pās*, etc. (see preceding §).

$r\dot{s} > (d)\dot{d}h$ .

§ 777. The assimilation of  $r\dot{s}$  to  $(d)\dot{d}h$  is very rare (cf. § 351).

a. Indian. Skt. *karṣaṇa* 'dragging,' Ur. *kārhibā*, Bang. *kārhan*, Hindī *kārhnā*, Panj. *karṛhanā*, Sindhī *karhaṇu*, Guj. *kuhā-ravun*, Mar. *kārhaṇēm*.

$r\dot{s} > r(r)$ .

§ 778. The assimilation of  $r\dot{s}$  to  $r(r)$  is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mārgaśr̥ṣa* 'November-December,' Apab. Prāk. *maggasīru*, Ur. *māg(h)uśīra*, *magusara*, Panj. *maghar*, Sindhī *manḡhīru*.

$r\dot{s} > rz$ .

§ 779. The change of  $r\dot{s}$  to  $rz$  is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 428).

b. Iranian. Av. *barəša* 'mane,' Phl., New Pers. *buš*, Afγ. *vraž*, Bal. *bušk*, Dig. Oss. *barza*, Tag. *barz*.

$r\dot{s} > \acute{s}(\acute{s})$ .

§ 780. The assimilation of  $r\dot{s}$  to  $\acute{s}(\acute{s})$  is very rare (cf. § 407).

a. Indian. Skt. *śr̥ṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *sīsa*, Pāli *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sisī*, Guj. *śīs*, Mar. *śī(ṇ)s*, Sinh. *sis*, *his*, *isa*, *iha*.

$r\dot{s}$ ,  $r\acute{s} > \dot{s}(\dot{s})$ ,  $\acute{s}(\acute{s})$ .

§ 781. The assimilation of  $r\dot{s}$ ,  $r\acute{s}$  to  $\dot{s}(\dot{s})$ ,  $\acute{s}(\acute{s})$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *varṣa* 'year,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *vaṣa*, *varṣa*, lit. Prāk. *vāsa*, Pāli *vassa*, Gyp. *berš*, *breš*.

b. Iranian. Av. *barəša* 'mane,' Phl., New Pers. *buš*, Bal. *bušk*, etc. (see § 779). Av. *karšayən* 'they may drag,' Phl. *kašītanō*, New Pers. *kašīdan*, Afγ. *kšal*, Bal. *kašag*, N. Bal. *khašay*, Kurd. *kišān*.

$r\dot{s} > s(s)$ .

§ 782. The assimilation of  $r\dot{s}$  to  $s(s)$  occurs frequently in the Indian dialects (cf. § 408).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *sīsa*, li *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sīsī*, Mar. *śī(n)s*, Sinh. *sis*, *his*, *isa*, *iha*, etc. (see § 780).

$rṣ > h(h)$ .

§ 783. The assimilation of  $rṣ$  to  $h(h)$  is excessively rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārṣāpaṇa* 'a certain coin,' Prāk. *kāhāvaṇa*, Pāli *kahāpaṇa*, Ur. *kāhāṇa*, Bang. *kāhaṇ*, Hindī *kahān*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Sinh. *iha*, *isa*, *sis*, *his*, etc. (see § 780). Skt. *varṣati* 'rains,' Pāli *vassati*, Sinh. *vahinu*, Māladive *vehenī*.

$rśn > kh, x$ .

§ 784. The assimilation of  $rśn$  to  $kh, x$ , is very rare (cf. § 922).

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Waxī *tax(i)*, Šiyn. *tāšna*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tažai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunī*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*.

$rśn > n(n)$ .

§ 785. The assimilation of  $rśn$  to  $n(n)$  is quite rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunī*, Kurd. *tanī*, *tī*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rśn > r(r)$ .

§ 786. The assimilation of  $rśn$  to  $r(r)$  is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Sarq. *tūr(i)*, etc. (see § 784).

$rśn > rs$ .

§ 787. The assimilation of  $rśn$  to  $rs$  is excessively rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *varšni* 'virile,' Phl. *gušan*, New Pers. *gušn*, Tag. Oss. *urs*, S. Oss. *vurz*.

$rśn > rz$ .

§ 788. The assimilation of  $rśn$  to  $rz$  is most rare (cf. § 925).

b. Iranian. Av. *varšni* 'virile,' S. Oss. *vurz*, etc. (see preceding §).

$r\check{s}n > \check{s}(\check{s})$ .

§ 789. The assimilation of  $r\check{s}n$  to  $\check{s}(\check{s})$  is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' New Pers. *tiš*, etc. (see § 784).

$r\check{s}n > \check{s}n$ .

§ 790. The reduction of  $r\check{s}n$  to  $\check{s}n$  is quite common.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, Šiyn. *tāšna*, Yidg. *trušna*, etc. (see § 784). Av. *varšni* 'virile,' Phl. *gušan*, New Pers. *gušn*, etc. (see § 787).

$r\check{s}n > \check{z}(\check{z})$ .

§ 791. The assimilation of  $r\check{s}n$  to  $\check{z}(\check{z})$  is extremely rare (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Afy. *tažai*, etc. (see § 784).

$r\check{s}v > \check{s}v$ .

§ 792. The assimilation of  $r\check{s}v$  to  $\check{s}v$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karšvar* 'clime,' Phl., New Pers. *kišvar*.

$rs > hl$ .

§ 793. The transposition of  $rs$  to  $hl$  is very rare (cf. §§ 354, 421).

b. Iranian. Av. *parəsu* 'side,' Phl. *pahlūk*, New Pers. *pahlū*.

$rz > l(l)$ .

§ 794. The assimilation of  $rz$  to  $l(l)$  is extremely rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *barəziš* 'pillow,' Phl. *bālišn*, New Pers. *bāliš*, Gab. *bāliš*, Kāš. *bōlēšm*, *bōliš*.

$r\check{h} > r(r)$ .

§ 795. The assimilation of  $r\check{h}$  to  $r(r)$  is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *garha* 'abuse,' Bihārī *gārī*, *gālī*.

$r\check{h} > l(l)$ .

§ 796. The assimilation of  $r\check{h}$  to  $l(l)$  is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *garha* 'abuse,' Bihārī *gālī*, *gārī*.

$lk > k(k)$ .

§ 797. The assimilation of  $lk$  to  $k(k)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ulkā* 'meteor,' Prāk., Pāli *ukkā*, Hindī *lūkā*, Sindhī *luk*. Skt. *valkala* 'bark,' Prāk., Pāli *vakkala*, Sindhī *bakaru*.

$lg > g(g)$ .

§ 798. The assimilation of  $lg$  to  $g(g)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *valgā* 'rein,' New Ind. dialects *bāg*. Skt. *valgulī* 'bat,' Pāli *vaggulī*.

$lp > p(p)$ .

§ 799. The assimilation of  $lp$  to  $p(p)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalpa* 'time,' Pāli *kappa*. Skt. *kalpatē* 'conducts himself,' Māhār. Prāk. *kappaē*, Pāli *kappatī*, Sinh. *kapanavā*.

$lm > mb$ .

§ 800. The assimilation of  $lm$  to  $mb$  is very rare (cf. §§ 323, 360).

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmālī* 'silk-cotton tree,' Jāina Prāk. *sambila*, Pāli *simbatī*, Uṛ. *śīmīla*, *śīmūla*, Bang. *śimul*, Hindī *sēmal*, *simbal*, Panj. *simabal*, *simmal*, Mar. *sāmvar*.

$lm > m(m)$ .

§ 801. The assimilation of  $lm$  to  $m(m)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmālī* 'silk-cotton tree,' Uṛ. *śīmīla*, *śīmūla*, Bang. *śimul*, Hindī *sēmal*, *simbal*, Panj. *simmal*, *simabal*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *jālma* 'reckless,' Pāli *jamma*.

$lm > m̐v$ .

§ 802. The change of  $lm$  to  $m̐v$  is extremely rare in Indian (cf. §§ 324, 360).

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmālī* 'silk-cotton tree,' Mar. *sāmvar*, etc. (see § 800).

*ly* > *l(l)*.

§ 803. The assimilation of *ly* to *l(l)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalya* 'dawn,' Prāk., Pāli *kalla*, Ass., Uṛ., Bang. *kāli*, E. Hindī, Hindī *kāl*, *kālh*, Panj. *kall*, *kallh*, Sindhī *kālh*, Guj., Mar. *kāl*.

*ly* > *(l)lh*.

§ 804. The assimilation of *ly* to *(l)lh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalya* 'dawn,' E. Hindī, Hindī *kālh*, *kāl*, Panj. *kallh*, *kall*, Sindhī *kālh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Prāk. *mulla*, *molla*, Kaśm. *mol*, Uṛ. *mula*, Bang., Hindī *mōl*, Panj. *mull*, Sindhī *mulhu*, Mar. *mōl*.

*lv* > *b(b)*.

§ 805. The assimilation of *lv* to *b(b)* is extremely rare (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *balvaja* 'reed,' Pāli *pabbaja*.

*lv* > *l(l)*.

§ 806. The assimilation of *lv* to *l(l)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bilva* 'wood-apple,' Pāli *billa*, *bella*, New Ind. dialects *bēl*. Skt. *khālvaṭa* 'bald,' Prāk. *khallīḍa*, Pāli *khallāṭa*.

*vy* > *b(b)*.

§ 807. The assimilation of *vy* to *b(b)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 372). In Bangālī *vy* is regularly pronounced *b*.

a. Indian. Skt. *sīvyati* 'sews,' Pāli *sibbati*. Skt. *vyatita* 'passed,' Uṛ. *bitibā*, Hindī *bitnā*, Panj. *bitīṭanā*, Guj. *vaṭarūn*. Skt. *vyamśana* 'division,' Hindī *bāchnā*, Panj. *bañchuanā*, Sindhī *virchaṇu*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhī *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Sinh. *vag*.



$vy > v(v)$ .

§ 808. The assimilation of  $vy$  to  $v(v)$  occurs very frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vyatīta* 'passed,' Guj. *vaṭavun*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggā*, Sindhī *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Sinh. *vag*, etc. (see preceding §).

$vr > v(v)$ .

§ 809. The assimilation of  $vr$  to  $v(v)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *urvaśī* nom. prop., Prāk. *uvvasī*. Skt. *vrīhi* 'rice,' Prāk., Pāli *vīhi*, Sinh. *vī*.

$śc > c(c)$ .

§ 810. The assimilation of  $śc$  to  $c(c)$  is not very common.

a. Indian. Skt. *āścarya* 'wonderful,' Prāk. *acchēra*, Pāli *acchēra*, *acchariya*, Hindī, Panj. *acaraj*, Sindhī *acaraj*, *acarāt*. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Prāk., Pāli *pacchā*, Ass. *picē*, *pācē* (pron. *pisē*, *pāsē*), Kāśm. *pat(h)*, Ur. *pachē*, Bang. *pāchā*, *pichē* (pron. *pāsā*, *pisē*), Hindī *pāchē*, *pāchū*, *pīchū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Sindhī *pōē*, *puān*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, Sinh. *pas(u)*.

$śc > (c)ch$ .

§ 811. The assimilation of  $śc$  to  $(c)ch$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vṛścika* 'scorpion,' Prāk. *vinēua*, *vicchua*, *vinchua*, Pāli *vicchika*, Nāip. *bicchu*, Kāśm. *bīc*, *būch*, Ur., Bang. *bichū*, E. Hindī *biccu*, Hindī *bichuā*, Panj. *vicchū*, Sindhī *vichūm*, Guj. *vichu*, *vinchū*, Mar. *vinēū*, *vinchūm*. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Prāk., Pāli *pacchā*, Ur. *pachē*, Bang. *pāchā*, *pichē*, Hindī *pāchē*, *pāchū*, *pīchū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, etc. (see preceding §).

$śc > s(s)$ .

§ 812. The assimilation of  $śc$  to  $s(s)$  is very rare (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Ass. *piṣē*, *pāsē* (written *pichē*, *pāchē*), Bang. *pāsā*, *piṣē* (written *pāchā*, *pichē*), Sinh. *pas(u)*, etc. (see § 810).

*Syncope of śc.*

§ 813. The loss of internal *śc* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Sindhī *pōē*, *puām*, etc. (see § 810). Skt. *trayaścātvarimśat* 'forty-three,' Prāk. *tēalīsa*, Kāśm. *tēyatājih*, Bihārī *tāmtālis*, Hindī *tēālis*, *tētālīsā*, *tāmtālīs*. Sindhī *īētālīh*.

*śm > m(m).*

§ 814. The assimilation of *śm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśru* 'beard,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṁsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Bang. *mōch*, Bihārī *mōmch*, *māmch*, Hindī *mūchēm*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhī *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *śmaśāna* 'cemetery,' Prāk. *masāṇa*, Māg. Prāk. *maśāṇa*, Jaina Prāk. *sīyāṇa*, *susāṇa*, Pāli *susāna*, Uṛ. *maśāṇa*, Bang. *maśān*, Hindī *masān*, Panj. *masāṇ*, Sindhī *masāṇu*, Guj. *masāṇ*, Mar. *masaṇ*.

*śm > s(s).*

§ 815. The assimilation of *śm* to *s(s)* is comparatively rare (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśāna* 'cemetery,' Jaina Prāk. *sīyāṇa*, *susāṇa*, Pāli *susāna*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *raśmi* 'ray,' Prāk. *rassi*, Pāli *rasmi*, *raṁsi*, Ass. *raci* (pron. *raṣi*), Kāśm. *raz*, Uṛ. *rasī*, Bang. *rasī*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *rassā*, *rassī*, Sindhī *rasī*, Mar. *rassī*.

*śr > ṁj.*

§ 816. The change of *śr* to *ṁj* is very rare (cf. § 350 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *aśru* 'tear,' Prāk. *aṁsu*, Pāli *assu*, Kāśm. *āuṣ*, *aṣū*, Nāip. *āṁsū*, Uṛ. *ōṁjhū*, *āṁsū*, Bihārī, Hindī *āṁsū*, Panj. *aṁjhu*, Sindhī *haṁj*, Guj. *āṁju*, Mar. *aṁsū*, *āṣū*.

*śr > ṁjh.*

§ 817. The change of *śr* to *ṁjh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *aśru* 'tear,' Ur. *ōmjhū*, *āṁsū*, Panj. *añjhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

*śr* > *ś(ś)*.

§ 818. The assimilation of *śr* to *ś(ś)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śravaṇa* 'hearing,' Ur. *śuṇibā*, Bang. *śunan*, Hindī *sunnā*, Panj. *suṇanā*, Sindhī *suṇaṇu*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Ur. *śāśa*, Bang. *śās*, Hindī *sās*, Panj. *sassū*, Sindhī *sasu*, Guj. *sāṁsū*, Mar. *sāsū*.

*śr* > *s(s)*.

§ 819. The assimilation of *śr* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśru* 'beard,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṁsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Bang. *mōch*, Bihārī *mōmch*, *mūmch*, Hindī *mūchēm*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhī *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *aśru* 'tear,' Prāk. *aṁsu*, Pāli *assu*, Nāip. *āṁsū*, Ur. *āṁsū*, *ōmjhū*, Bihārī, Hindī *āṁsū*, Mar. *aṁsū*, *āsū*, etc. (see § 816). Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Bang. *śās*, Hindī *sās*, Panj. *sassū*, Sindhī *sasu*, Guj. *sāṁsū*, Mar. *sāsū*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *śravaṇa* 'hearing,' Hindī *sunnā*, Panj. *suṇanā*, Sindhī *suṇaṇu*, etc. (see preceding §).

*śl* > *s(s)*.

§ 820. The assimilation of *śl* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *ślēṣma* 'slime,' Prāk. *śimbha*, Pāli *silēsuma*, *sēṁha*, Sinh. *sem(a)*.

*śv* > *s(s)*.

§ 821. The assimilation of *śv* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *aśva* 'horse,' Prāk. *assa*, *āsa*, Pāli *assa*, Sinh. *as*. Skt. *īśvara* 'lord,' Prāk. *īsara*, Pāli *issara*, Hindī, Panj. *īsar*, cf. also Sindhī *paramēsuru*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Ur. *śāśa*, Bang. *śās*, Hindī *sās*, Panj. *sassū*,

Sindhī *susu*, Guj. *sāmsū*, Mar. *sūsū*. Skt. *śvāsu* 'breath,' Prāk., Pāli *sūsa*, Sindhī *sāhu*.

*ṣk* > *k(k)*.

§ 822. The assimilation of *ṣk* to *k(k)* is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *duṣkṛtu* 'evil,' Prāk. *dukkada*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *dukata*, Pāli *dukkata*, *dukkata*. Skt. *śuṣka* 'dry,' Prāk. *sukka*, *sukha*, Pāli *sukha*, Ass. *sukāna* (pron. *hukāna*), Kaśm. *hōkh*, Ur., Bang. *śukā*, Hindī *sūkhā*, Panj. *sukkhā*, *sukku*, Sindhī *sukō*, Guj. *sūkhō*, Mar. *sukā*, *sukhā*. Skt. *niṣkarṣaṇa* 'dragging out,' Pāli *nikkaḍḍha*, Hindī *nikālaṇa*, *nikāsanā*, Panj. *nik(k)āsaṇā*, *nikkālaṇā*, Sindhī *nikāraṇum*, *nikēraṇu*, *nikarāṇum*, Guj. *nikālavum*, *nikāsarum*, Mar. *nikāṭaṇēm*, *nikāl*.

*ṣk* > *(k)kh*.

§ 823. The assimilation of *ṣk* to *(k)kh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṣka* 'dry,' Prāk. *sukha*, *sukka*, Pāli *sukha*, Kaśm. *hōkh*, Hindī *sūkhā*, Panj. *sukkhā*, *sukkā*, Guj. *sūkhō*, Mar. *sukhā*, *sukā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *puṣkara* 'pool,' Prāk., Pāli *pokkhara*, Ur. *pōkhari*, Bang. *pukur*, Hindī, Mar. *pōkhar*.

*ṣṭ* > *ṭ(t)*.

§ 824. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *ṭ(t)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛṣṭa* 'polished,' Pāli *maṭṭa*, *maṭṭha*. Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* 'sixty,' Prāk. *saṭṭhi*, Kaśm. *śāṭh*, *śēṭh*, Ur. *sāṭhiē*, Bang. *sāṭṭha*, Bihārī *sāṭhi*, Hindī *sāṭh*, Panj. *saṭṭh*, Sindhī *saṭhi*, Guj., Mar. *sāṭh*, Siinh. *sūṭa*.

*ṣṭ* > *(ṭ)ṭh*.

§ 825. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *(ṭ)ṭh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'staff,' Prāk. *laṭṭhi*, Śaur. Prāk. *jaṭṭhi*, Pāli *laṭṭhi*, Ur., Bang. *lāṭhi*, Hindī *lāṭhī*, *laṭ(ṭ)*, Panj. *laṭṭhī*, Sindhī *lāṭhī*, Guj. *lāṭh*, *lāṭ*, Mar. *laṭṭh*. Skt. *aṣṭau* 'eight,' Prāk.,

Pāli *aṭṭha*, Kāśm. *āṭh*, Uṛ. *āṭha*, Bang. *āṭa*, Bihārī, Hindī *āṭh*, Panj. *aṭṭh*, Sindhī *aṭh*, Guj., Mar. *āṭh*. Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* 'sixty,' Prāk. *saṭṭhi*, Kāśm. *śāiṭh*, *śēṭh*, Uṛ. *sāṭhiē*, Bang. *sācṭha*, Bihārī *sāṭhi*, Hindī *sāṭh*, Panj. *saṭṭh*, Sindhī *saṭhi*, Guj., Mar. *sāṭh*.

*ṣṭ > ḍ(ḍ).*

§ 826. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare (cf. § 192).

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭaka* 'enclosure,' Pāli *vēṭhaka*, Ass. *bēr*, Nāip. *bār*, Kāśm. *vāḍ*, *vār*, Uṛ. *bhērā*, *bērḥā*, Bang. *bērā*, Hindī, Panj. *bērḥā*, Multānī *vērḥā*, Sindhī *vaḍēhō*, *vērḥā*, Mar. *vēḍhā*. Skt. *lēṣṭu* 'clod,' Māhār. Prāk. *leṭṭhuya*, Pāli *leḍḍu*.

*ṣṭ > (ḍ)ḍh.*

§ 827. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is extremely rare (cf. § 193).

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭaka* 'enclosure,' Uṛ. *bērḥā*, *bhērā*, Hindī, Panj. *bērḥā*, Multānī *vērḥā*, Sindhī *vērḥā*, *vaḍēhō*, Mar. *vēḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ruṣṭa* 'angry,' Bang., Hindī, Panj. *rūḍh*.

*ṣṭr > (ṭ)ṭ.*

§ 828. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *(ṭ)ṭ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṭra* 'camel,' Prāk. *uṭṭa*, Kāśm. *(v)ūmṭh*, Bihārī *ū(m)ṭ*, Sindhī *uṭhu*.

*ṣṭr > (ṭ)ṭh.*

§ 829. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *(ṭ)ṭh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahārāṣṭra* 'great kingdom,' Pāli *mahārāṭṭha*, Sindhī *morāṭhī*, Guj. *marēṭhō*.

*ṣṭr > ḍ(ḍ).*

§ 830. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *daṁṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Prāk. *dāḍhā*, Pāli *dāṭhā*, Uṛ. *dāḍh(ī)*, Bang. *dār(ī)*, Hindī *dāḍh(ī)*, Panj. *dāhaḍ(ī)*, Sindhī *dāṭh*, *dāḍah*, Guj. *dāḍhī*, *dāḥār*, Mar. *dāḍh*, Sinh. *daḷa*.

*ṣtr* > (*d*)*ḍh*.

§ 831. The assimilation of *ṣtr* to (*d*)*ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *daṁṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Prāk. *dāḍhā*, U<sub>r</sub>., Hindī *dāḍh(ī)*, Guj. *dāḍhī*, *ḍahār*, Mar. *dāḍh*, etc. (see preceding §).

*ṣtr* > *ḷ(ḷ)*.

§ 832. The assimilation of *ṣtr* to *ḷ(ḷ)* is excessively rare (cf. § 213).

a. Indian. Skt. *daṁṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Siñh. *daḷa*, etc. (see § 830).

*ṣtr* > *h(h)*.

§ 833. The assimilation of *ṣtr* to *h(h)* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 206 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *daṁṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Panj. *dāhaḍ(ī)*, Guj. *ḍāhār*, *dāḍhī*, etc. (see § 830).

*ṣṭh* > *ṭ(t)*.

§ 834. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to *ṭ(t)* is very uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kōṣṭha* 'granary,' Pāli *koṭṭha*, New Ind. dialects *kott*, *koṭṭh*.

*ṣṭh* > (*t*)*ṭh*.

§ 835. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to (*t*)*ṭh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Apab. Prāk. *patṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *putṭhi*, Pāli *piṭṭha*, Ass., U<sub>r</sub>. *piṭhi*, Bang. *piṭhi*, *pīṭ*, Hindī *pīṭh*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *putṭh*, Sindhī *puṭhi*, Guj. *puṭh*, *pīṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh*, Gyp. *pūṣṭo*. Skt. *gōṣṭhī* 'assembly,' Prāk. *gotṭhī*, Pāli *gotṭha*, Sindhī *gōṭhu*, Mar. *gotṭhī*. Skt. *ōṣṭha* 'lip,' Māhār. Prāk. *oṭṭha*, *uṭṭha*, Pāli *oṭṭha*, Kaśm. *vuṭh*, U<sub>r</sub>. *ōṭha*, Bihārī *hō(n)ṭh*, Hindī *ōmṭh*, Panj. *hōmṭh*, Guj. *ōṭh*, *hōṭ*, Mar. *ōmṭh*, Gyp. *vuṣṭ*.

*ṣṭh* > *ḍ(d)*.

§ 836. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to *ḍ(d)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' U<sub>r</sub>. *kuḍha*, Bang. *kuḍi*, Sindhī *kōṛhu*, Guj., Mar. *kōṛ*, *kōṛh*, *kōhōṛ*.

*ṣṭh* > (*d*)*ḍh*.

§ 837. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to (*d*)*ḍh* is extremely rare.



a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Ur. *kuḍha*, Sindhī *kōrhu*, Guj., Mar. *kōrh*, *kōr̄*, *kōhōr̄*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṇ(ṇ)$ .

§ 838. The assimilation of  $ṣṇ$  to  $ṇ(ṇ)$  is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *uṇha* (but Pāli *sītunnaka* 'heat and cold' besides *sītunḥaka*), Sindhī *uṇ*, Guj. *unhuṇ*, Mar. *ūnha*, Sinh. (*h*)*uṇu*.

$ṣṇ > ṇ(n)$ .

§ 839. The assimilation of  $ṣṇ$  to  $ṇ(n)$  occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Sinh. (*h*)*uṇu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṇh$ .

§ 840. The change of  $ṣṇ$  to  $ṇh$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle Indian dialects, but it is very rare in the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Māhār. Prāk. *uṇha*, etc. (see § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Prāk., Pāli *kaṇha*, Hindī, Panj. *kānh*, *kanhāi*, Sindhī *kānu*, Guj. *kānhō*, Mar. *kanhōbā*.

$ṣṇ > ṇ(n)$ .

§ 841. The assimilation of  $ṣṇ$  to  $ṇ(n)$  occurs frequently (cf. § 218).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīta* 'cold' + *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Pāli *sītunnaka*, *sītunḥaka*, Mar. *ūnha*, etc. (cf. § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Sindhī *kānu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṇh$ .

§ 842. The change of  $ṣṇ$  to  $ṇh$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Guj. *unhuṇ*, etc. (see § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Hindī, Panj. *kānh*, *kanhāi*, Guj. *kānhō*, Mar. *kanhōbā*, etc. (see § 840).

$ṣṇ > h(h)$ .

§ 843. The assimilation of  $ṣṇ$  to  $h(h)$  is extremely rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *tṛṣṇā* 'thirst,' Prāk. *taṇhā*, Pāli *tiṇhā*, *tasinā*, Panj. *tihā*, Sindhī *ṭih*, Mar. *tahān*.

$\text{ʃp} > p(p)$ .

§ 844. The assimilation of  $\text{ʃp}$  to  $p(p)$  is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Śaur. Prāk., Pāli *bappa*, Ass. *bhāp*, Kaśm. *bāha*, Ur., Bang. *bhāp*, E. Hindī *bā(n)ph*, Hindī *bhāp*, *bā(n)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *ḷāph*, Guj. *bā(n)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppha*, Kaśm. *pōṣ*, Bihārī *phūp*, *phūph*, Old Hindī *pukup*, Hindī *phūp*, Guj., Mar. *phūl*. Skt. *niṣputra* 'sonless,' Sindhī *nipuṭrō*.

$\text{ʃp} > (p)ph$ .

§ 845. The assimilation of  $\text{ʃp}$  to  $(p)ph$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bappha* 'smoke,' *bāha* 'tear,' E. Hindī *bā(n)ph*, Hindī *bā(n)ph*, *bhāp*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *ḷāph*, Guj. *bā(n)ph*, Mar. *vāph*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppha*, Bihārī *phūph*, *phūp*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{ʃp} > h(h)$ .

§ 846. The assimilation of  $\text{ʃp}$  to  $h(h)$  is very rare (cf. §§ 421, 300).

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Kaśm. *bāha*, etc. (see § 844).

$\text{ʃm} > (b)bh$ .

§ 847. The assimilation of  $\text{ʃm}$  to  $(b)bh$  is excessively rare (cf. § 323).

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣman* 'hot season,' Prāk. *umhā*, Old Hindī *ūbh*, Mar. *umhal*. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Prāk. *gimha*, Apab. Prāk. *gim̐bha*, Pāli *gimha*, Old Hindī *garīsam*, Mar. *gim̐bh*, *gīm*.

$\text{ʃm} > m(m)$ .

§ 848. The assimilation of  $\text{ʃm}$  to  $m(m)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Mar. *gīm*, *gimbh*, etc. (see preceding §).

*ṣm > mh.*

§ 849. The change of *ṣm* to *mh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Prāk., Pāli *gimha*, etc. (see § 847). Skt. *uṣman* 'hot season,' Prāk. *umhā*, Mar. *umhal*, etc. (see § 847).

*ṣy > (k)kh.*

§ 850. The change of *ṣy* to *(k)kh* is very rare (cf. § 404).

a. Indian. Skt. *śiṣya* 'pupil,' Prāk. *sīsa*, Pāli *sissa*, Sindhī *sikhu*.

*ṣy > ṣṣ.*

§ 851. The assimilation of *ṣy* to *ṣṣ* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Prāk. *pūsa*, Ur. *pūṣa*, Bang. *pāuṣ*, Hindī *pūs*, Panj. *pōh*, Sindhī *pōhu*.

*ṣy > s(s).*

§ 852. The assimilation of *ṣy* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṣyati* 'dries,' Prāk. *sūsaī*, Pāli *sussati*. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Prāk. *pūsa*, Hindī *pūs*, etc. (see preceding §).

*ṣy > h(h).*

§ 853. The change of *ṣy* to *h(h)* is very rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaviṣyāmi* 'I shall be,' Prāk. *hōhāmi*, *hōhimi*, *hossāmi*, Pāli *bhavissāmi*. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Panj. *pōh*, Sindhī *pōhu*, etc. (see § 851).

*sk > k(k).*

§ 854. The assimilation of *sk* to *k(k)* is very frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tuskara* 'thief,' Prāk., Pāli *takkara*. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk. *khand(h)a*, Pāli *khandha*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *kāṁdhā*, Panj. *kannh*, *kāṁdhā*, Sindhī, Guj. *kāṁdhō*, Mar. *khāmdā*, Eḷu *kaṁda*, Māladive *koḍu*.

*sk* > (k)kh.

§ 855. The assimilation of *sk* to (k)kh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk. *khand(h)a*, Pāli *khandha*, Mar. *khāmdā*, etc. (see preceding §).

*sc* > c(c).

§ 856. The assimilation of *sc* to c(c) is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *pascat* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kāš. *pac*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšī*, Dig. Oss. *fastāga*, Tag. *fastag*.

*sc* > š(š).

§ 857. The assimilation of *sc* to š(š) is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects (cf. §§ 419, 166).

b. Iranian. Av. *pascat* 'afterward,' Kuhr. *paš*, *pas*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšī*, etc. (see preceding §).

*sc* > šk.

§ 858. The change of *sc* to šk is very rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *scindayeiti* 'breaks,' Phl. *škastanō*, New Pers. *šikastan*, Oss. *sadhtin*, *satthin*.

*sc* > s(s).

§ 859. The assimilation of *sc* to s(s) is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *pascat* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, etc. (see § 856). Av. *scindayeiti* 'breaks,' Oss. *sadhtin*, *satthin*, etc. (see preceding §).

*st* > (k)kh.

§ 860. The change of *st* to (k)kh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *stambha* 'post,' Prāk. *khaṁbha*, *thaṁbha*, Pāli *thambha*, U<sub>r</sub>. *khaṁbh(ā)*, *khaṁ(bā)*, Bang. *khaṁbā*, Hindī, Panj. *thamb*, Sindhī *thambhu*, Guj. *khāmb*, *khaṁbh*, *thamb*, Mar. *khāmb*, Sinh. *ṭāmba*. [See now Pischel, § 306.]

*st* > t(t).

§ 861. The assimilation of *st* to t(t) is excessively rare (cf. § 224).

a. Indian. Skt. *stambha* 'post,' Sinh. *ṭāmba*, etc. (see preceding §).

*st* > t(t).

§ 862. The assimilation of *st* to t(t) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *stāinya* 'thief,' Jāina Prāk. *tēṇiya*. Skt. *hyastana* 'yesterday's,' Pāli *hīyattana*. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāt*, *hāth*, Kaśm. *ath* (but *hast* 'elephant'), U<sub>r</sub>., Bang. *hāta*, Bihārī, Hindī *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhī *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, Mar. *hāt*, Sinh. *ata*, Gyp. *vast*.

b. Iranian. Lat. *sturnus* 'starling,' Old High German *stāra*, New Pers. *tar*.

*st* > (t)th.

§ 863. The assimilation of *st* to (t)th is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pustaka* 'book,' Prāk. *potthaa*, Pāli *pōthaka*, Kaśm. *pūth*, U<sub>r</sub>. *pōthā*, Sindhī, Guj., Mar. *pōthī*, Sinh. *pōta*. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāth*, *hāt*, Kaśm. *ath*, Bihārī, Hindī *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhī *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *prastara* 'stone,' Prāk., Pāli *patthara*, U<sub>r</sub>. *puthara*, Bang. *pāthar*, Hindī, Panj. *patthar*, Sindhī *patharu*, Guj., Mar. *patthar*. Skt. *stana* 'female breast,' Pāli *thana*, U<sub>r</sub>., Bang. *thana*, Hindī *than*, Panj. *than*, Sindhī *thanu*, Guj. *thān*, Mar. *thanā*, Sinh. *tana*.

*st* > s(s).

§ 864. The assimilation of *st* to s(s) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *rāsta* 'right,' Phl. *rāst*, New Pers. *rās*, *rāst*, Oss. *rast*, *rasth*.

*sty* > *ṭh*, *th*.

§ 865. The assimilation of *sty* to *ṭh*, *th*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *styāna* 'idleness,' Prāk., Pāli *ṭhīna*, *thīna*.

*sth* > (k)*kh*.

§ 866. The change of *sth* to (k)*kh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthānu* 'firm, Śiva,' Prāk. *khānu*, *khannu*, 'firm,' *thānu* 'Śiva.' [See now Pischel, § 309.]

*sth* > *ṭ(t)*.

§ 867. The assimilation of *sth* to *ṭ(t)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *asthi* 'bone,' Prāk., Pāli *aṭṭhi*, Ur., Bang. *hāḍa*, Hindī *hāḍ*, *haḍḍī*, Panj. *haḍḍī*, Guj., Mar. *hāḍ*, Sinh. *āṭa*.

*sth* > (ṭ)*ṭh*.

§ 868. The assimilation of *sth* to (ṭ)*ṭh* is very rare (cf. § 238).

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *ṭhāṇa*, *thāṇa*, Pāli *ṭhāna*, Nāip. *than̄i*, Ur. *ṭhaṇā*, *thānā*, Bang. *thanā*, *thān*, Hindī *ṭhannā*, *thānā*, Panj. *ṭhāṇ*, *thānā*, Sindhī *ṭhāṇu*, *thāṇu*, Guj. *ṭhāṇ*, *thāṇ*, Mar. *ṭhān*, *thār*, Sinh. *ṭāna*, *tāna*, Gyp. *than*.

*sth* > *ḍ(d)*.

§ 869. The assimilation of *sth* to *ḍ(d)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *asthi* 'bone,' Ur., Bang. *hāḍa*, Hindī *hāḍ*, *haḍḍī*, Panj. *haḍḍī*, Guj., Mar. *hāḍ*, etc. (see § 867).

*sth* > *t(t)*.

§ 870. The assimilation of *sth* to *t(t)* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 240).

a. Indian. Skt. *sthira* 'firm,' Prāk., Pāli *thira*, Ur. *thira*, Hindī *ṭhir*, Sinh. *tara*. Skt. *sthālī* 'kettle,' Pāli *thālī*, Ur., Panj. *thālī*, Guj. *thālō*, Mar. *thālā*, Sinh. *tālī*, Maladive *teḷi*.



*sth* > (t)*th*.

§ 871. The assimilation of *sth* to (t)*th* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects and in North Balūčī.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *thāṇa*, *ṭhāṇa*, Nāip. *tharēi*, Ur. *thānā*, *ṭhaṇā*, Bang. *thān*, *thaṇā*, Hindī *thānā*, *ṭhannā*, Panj. *thānā*, *ṭhannā*, *ṭhāṇ*, Sindhī *thāṇu*, *ṭhāṇu*, Guj. *thāṇ*, *ṭhāṇ*, Mar. *thār*, *ṭhān*, Gyp. *than*, etc. (see § 868). Skt. *sthira* 'firm,' Prāk., Pāli *thira*, Ur. *thira*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *-stāna* 'standing,' Phl., New Pers. *-stān*, N. Bal. *thān*, Kurd. *šūn*.

*sth* > *st*.

§ 872. \*The deaspirization of *sth* to *st* is very rare (cf. § 240).

a. Indian. Skt. *grhastha* 'householder,' Pāli *gahatṭha*, Bihārī *gīrhast*, Hindī *grihast*, Panj. *g(a)risati*, Sindhī *grihastu*, Guj. *grastha* (semi-tatsama).

*sth* > ś(ṣ).

§ 873. The assimilation of *sth* to ś(ṣ) is extremely rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *-stāna* 'standing,' Kurd. *šūn*, etc. (see § 871).

*sn* > *ṇh*.

§ 874. The change of *sn* to *ṇh* is very rare (cf. §§ 421, 277).

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bathing,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhāṇu*, Pāli *nahāna*, *sināna*, Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāūṇā*, Guj. *nahān*, Mar. *nahāṇ*, *nāhanēṇ*.

*sn* > *n(n)*.

§ 875. The assimilation of *sn* to *n(n)* occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. It is more frequent in the latter group.

a. Indian. Skt. *snēha* 'love,' Prāk. *nēha*, *siṇṇēha*, Apab. Prāk. *nēhu*, Pāli *s(i)nēha*, Bihārī *nēh*, Sindhī *nēnhu*, *sanēhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *snaoḍa* 'cloud,' Bal. *nōd*, N. Bal. *nōḍ*. Skt. *snuṣar* 'daughter-in-law,' Afy. *nžōr*, Bal. *našūr*, Oss. *n(v)ostha*. Av. *snavarō* 'bow-string,' Dig. Oss. *navr*, Tag. *nvar*.

*sn* > *nh*.

§ 876. The change of *sn* to *nh* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bathing,' Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nlāūñā*, etc. (see § 874).

*sp* > *p(p)*.

§ 877. The assimilation of *sp* to *p(p)* is very rare (cf. § 293).

a. Indian. Skt. *vanaspati* 'tree,' Prāk. *vaṇassaṭṭi*, *vaṇapphaṭṭi*, Pāli *vanappati*. Skt. *sparśa* 'touch,' Prāk. *pharisa*, Pāli *phassa*, Ass. *√pas*, Bang. *sparśa* (pron. *pōrśō*), Hindī, Panj. *paras*, Guj. *pāras*, Mar. *paras*.

b. Iranian. Av. *spərəza* 'spleen,' Phl. *spärz*, New Pers. *supurz*, Kāš. *aspāl*, *aspōl*, Tāt *süpül*, Kurd. *pišik*.

*sp* > *(p)ph*.

§ 878. The assimilation of *sp* to *(p)ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian languages.

a. Indian. Skt. *sparśa* 'touch,' Prāk. *pharisa*, Pāli *phassa*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *spandana* 'throb,' Prāk. *phāṇḍana*, Pāli *phandana*, Hindī *phāṇḍanā*, Panj. *phāṇḍanā*, Mar. *phāṇḍanēm*.

*sp* > *s(s)*.

§ 879. The assimilation of *sp* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects. In the Indian dialects, on the other hand, it is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vanaspati* 'tree,' Prāk. *vaṇassaṭṭi*, *vaṇapphaṭṭi*, etc. (see § 877). Skt. *bṛhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bihassaṭṭi*, *bhaassaṭṭi*, *bahappaṭṭi*, *bhaapphaṭṭi*.

b. Iranian. Av. *span* 'dog,' Old Pers. (Median) *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afγ. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, *aspa*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Tāt *ās*, Waxī *yaš*, Minj. *yas(a)p*, Afγ. *ās*, Bal. *(h)aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag.

*yafs*. Skt. *aśvatara* 'mule,' Phl., New Pers. *astar*, Bal. *istal*, N. Bal. *hastal*, Kurd. *istîr*, *histîr*.

*sp* > *sph*, *sf*.

§ 880. The aspirization of *sp* to *sph*, *sf*, is not common.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaospanta* 'holy kine,' Phl. *gōspand*, New Pers. *gōsfand*, *gōspand*. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēt*, New Pers. *safēd*, *sipēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sübō*, Kāš. *asbē*, Kuhr. *asbēd*, Afγ. *spîn*, Kurd. (*i*)*spî*.

*sp* > *sb*.

§ 881. The softening of *sp* to *sb* is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 290).

b. Iranian. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Zaf. *sübō*, Kāš. *asbē*, Kuhr. *asbēd*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *span* 'dog,' Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, etc. (see § 879).

*sph* > (*k*)*kh*.

§ 882. The assimilation of *sph* to (*k*)*kh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphōṭaka* 'boil,' Prāk. *khōḍaa*, Pāli *phōṭa*, Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *phōḍā*, Sindhī *phurḍī*. [So the Prākrit grammarians, falsely. See now Pischel, § 311.]

*sph* > (*p*)*ph*.

§ 883. The assimilation of *sph* to (*p*)*ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphuṭa* 'thrilled,' Prāk. *phuḍa*, Pāli *phuṭa*. Skt. *sphōṭaka* 'boil,' Pāli *phōṭa*, Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *phōḍā*, Sindhī *phurḍī*.

*sm* > *mh*.

§ 884. The change of *sm* to *mh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle Indian dialects (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *asmi* 'am,' Prāk. *amhi*, Pāli *amhi*, *asmi*. Skt. *vismaya* 'wonder,' Prāk. *vimhaa*, Pāli *vimhaya*, Sindhī *visāī*.

$sm > s(s)$ .

§ 885. The assimilation of  $sm$  to  $s(s)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vismaya* 'wonder,' Sindhī *visāi*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *smṛti* 'memory,' Hindī, Panj. *surat*, Sindhī *surti*. Skt. *smarati* 'remembers,' Prāk. *saraī*, *sumaraī*, Pāli *sarati*, *sumarati*.

$sm > sb$ .

§ 886. The change of  $sm$  to  $sb$  is excessively rare (cf. § 323).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *asman* 'heaven,' Phl., New Pers. *āsmān*, Gab. *asbān*, Bal. *āsmān*, N. Bal. *ažmān*.

$sm > z(z)$ .

§ 887. The assimilation of  $sm$  to  $z(z)$  is very rare (cf. §§ 325, 420).

b. Iranian. Av. *aēśma* 'fuel,' Phl. (*h*)*ēzam*, Pāz., New Pers. *hēzām*, Gab. *izma*, Kāš., Kuhr. (*h*)*ēzam*, Kurd. *hazang*.

$sm > zm$ .

§ 888. The softening of  $sm$  to  $zm$  is rare (cf. § 420).

b. Iranian. Av. *aēśma* 'fuel,' Gab. *izma*, etc. (see preceding §).

$sm > žm$ .

§ 889. The change of  $sm$  to  $žm$  is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *asman* 'heaven,' N. Bal. *ažmān*, etc. (see § 886).

$sy > (j)jh$ .

§ 890. The change of  $sy$  to  $(j)jh$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāṁśya*, *kaṁśa* 'bell-metal,' Prāk. *kaṁśia*, Pāli *kaṁśa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *kāṁśā*, Panj. *kāṁsī*, Sindhī *kaṁjhō*, Guj. *kāṁsun*, Mar. *kāṁsēm* (cf. also Prāk. *tujjha* 'of thee' < Old Ind. *\*tusya*).

$sy > s(s)$ .

§ 891. The assimilation of  $sy$  to  $s(s)$  is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *syāla* 'brother-in-law,' Pāli *sāla*, Bang. *śāl*, Hindī *sāl*, Panj. *salā*, Sindhī *sālō*, Guj. *sālō*, *sālō*, Mar. *sālā*, Gyp. *salō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *syāva* 'black,' Phl. *siyāk*, *siyāh*, New Pers. *siyāh*, Waxī *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, Oss. *sau*.

*sy* > *š(š)*.

§ 892. The assimilation of *sy* to *š(š)* is very rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *syāva* 'black,' Waxī *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, etc. (see preceding §).

*sr* > (*k*)*kh*.

§ 893. The change of *sr* to (*k*)*kh* is extremely rare (cf. § 404?).

b. Iranian. Av. *sraoni* 'thigh,' Phl. *sarūk*, *sarīn*, New Pers. *surūn*, *surīn*, Waxī *šunj*, Šiyn. *šāun*, Sarq. *xāun*, Bal. *sarēn*.

*sr* > *ls*.

§ 894. The metathesis of *sr* to *ls* is rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōša*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. (*h*)*istir*, *asr*.

*sr* > *s(s)*.

§ 895. The assimilation of *sr* to *s(s)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sahasra* 'thousand,' Prāk., Pāli *sahassa*, Kāsm. *sās*, Bihārī *sahasar*, Sindhī *sahasu*. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Prāk. *sotta*, Pāli *sōta*, Sinh. *sō*, *soya*, (*h*)*oya*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xusū*, *xusrū*, Kāš. *xasrū*, Afy. *xʷāša*, Bal. *vassō*, *vassī*, *vassē*, Kurd. *xosī*, *xassū*, *xasrū*.

*sr* > *sl*.

§ 896. The change of *sr* to *sl* is very rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Kāš. *asl*, etc. (see § 894).

*sr* > *š(š)*.

§ 897. The assimilation of *sr* to *š(š)* is rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Afγ. *ōša*, etc. (see § 894). Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xus(r)ū*, Afγ. *xvāša*, etc. (see § 895).

*sr* > *h(h)*.

§ 898. The assimilation of *sr* to *h(h)* is rare (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Sinh. *hoya*, *oya*, *sō*, *soya*, etc. (see § 895).

*Aphaeresis of sr.*

§ 899. The loss of initial *sr* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Sinh. *oya*, *hoya*, *sō*, *soya*, etc. (see § 895).

*sv* > Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv* > *k(k)*.

§ 900. The assimilation of *sv* to *k(k)*, through Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xvafsa* 'sleep!' Phl. *xvafsanō*, New Pers. *xuspidan*,<sup>1</sup> Sīv. *fatan*, Tāl. *asp*, Waxī *xōfsam*, Šīyn. *šorsam*, Sarq. *xuḥsam*, Zaza *knana*.

*sv* > Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv* > *(k)kh*, *x*.

§ 901. The assimilation of *sv* to *(k)kh*, *x*, through Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *hvarə* 'sun,' Phl. *xur*, *xar*, New Pers. *xur*. Šīyn. *xēr*, Sarq. *xar*, Yidg. *xūr*, Afγ. *umar*, *nvar*, Dig. Oss. *xor*. Tag. *xūr*. Av. *xvaraiti* 'eats,' Phl. *xvartanō*, New Pers. *xurda*, Gab. *xartin*, Sīv. *fōrda*, Zaf. *buxōrt*, Kāš. *xōrdamān*, Vōn. *xūrtan*, Kuhr. *xārdan*, Nāy. *uxūr* 'eat!' Tāl. *bahardēn*, Šīyn. *xaram*, Sarq. *xoram*, Sangl. *xvaram*, Minj. *xar*, Yidg. *xūrah*. Afγ. *xōral*, Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, Kurd. *xurin*, Dig. Oss. *xvarun*, Tag. *xarin*. Av. *saxvārə* 'word,' Phl., New Pers. *suxun*, Sīv. *tuxun*, Kāš. *suxan*.

*sv* > Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv* > *nm*, *nv*.

§ 902. The change of *sv* to *nm*, *nv*, through Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv*, is very rare (cf. §§ 904, 329 ?).



b. Iranian. Av. *hvarə* 'sun,' Afy. *nmar*, *nvar*, etc. (see preceding §).

*sv* > Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv* > (*p*)*ph*, *f*.

§ 903. The change of *sv* to (*p*)*ph*, *f*, through Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv*, is exceedingly rare (cf. §§ 904, 371 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>araiti* 'eats,' Sīv. *fōrdan*, etc. (see § 901). Av. *x<sup>v</sup>afsata* 'sleep!' Sīv. *fatan*, etc. (see § 900).

*sv* > Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv* > *v(v)*.

§ 904. The assimilation of *sv* to *v(v)*, through Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *x<sup>v</sup>aš*, *xūš* 'good,' Pāz. *x<sup>v</sup>aš*, New Pers. *xuš*, *xōš*, Kāš. *xūš*, *xōš*, Šīyn. *xāiš*, Sarq. *xēx*, Bal. *vaš*, Kurd. *xōš*, Zaza *vaš*. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>araiti* 'eats,' Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, etc. (see § 901).

*sv* > *s(s)*.

§ 905. The assimilation of *sv* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *svāmin* 'lord,' Prāk. *sāmi*, Pāli *sāmī*, *suvāmī*, Ur., Bang. *śāmī*, Hindī, Panj. *sāmī*, Sindhī *sāmīm*, Sinh. *hami*, *himi*. Skt. *bhasvara* 'brilliant,' Pāli *bhassara*. Skt. *svaka* 'own,' Hindī *sagā*, Panj. *saggā*, Sindhī *sāgō*, Guj. *sagun*, Mar. *sagā*. Skt. *svāṅga* 'miniery,' Hindī, Panj. *sāmṅ*, Sindhī *sāmṅu*, Guj., Mar. *sōmṅ*.

*sv* > *h(h)*, and *sv* > Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv* > *h(h)*.

§ 906. The assimilation of *sv* to *h(h)* is very rare (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *svāmin* 'lord,' Sinh. *hami*, *himi*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>araiti* 'eats,' Tāl. *bahardēn*, etc. (see § 901). Av. *x<sup>v</sup>aēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *x<sup>v</sup>aī*, *x<sup>v</sup>ēdē*, New Pers. *x<sup>v</sup>ai*, Waxī *xil*, Sarq. *xaiδ*, Afy. *x<sup>v</sup>alē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēd*, Kurd. *xū*, *xoi*, *xōh*, Oss. *xad*.

*Aphaeresis of sv > Iranian x<sup>v</sup>, hv.*

§ 907. The loss of initial *sv* through Iranian *x<sup>v</sup>*, *hv*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x<sup>v</sup>afsata* 'sleep!' Tāl. *asp*, etc. (see § 900).

*šk > c(c).*

§ 908. The assimilation of *šk* to *c(c)* is rare (cf. §§ 424, 118).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl., New Pers. *xušk*, Kāš. *ušk*, Waxī *rask*, Afγ. *vuc*, Bal. *hušay*, Oss. *xusk*, *xus*.

*šk > s(s).*

§ 909. The assimilation of *šk* to *s(s)* is extremely rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Oss. *xus*, *xusk*, etc. (see preceding §).

*šk > shk.*

§ 910. The change of *šk* to *shk* is excessively rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Waxī *rask*, Oss. *xusk*, *xus*, etc. (see § 908).

*šk > š(š).*

§ 911. The assimilation of *šk* to *š(š)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *pušk* 'cat,' Gil. *pīcā*, Waxī *piš*, Šiyn. *paš*, Afγ. *pišō*, Bal. *pūši*, *piši*, Kurd. *pīšik*.

*šk > šc.*

§ 912. The change of *šk* to *šc* is very rare (cf. § 118).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *pušk* 'sheep-droppings,' Waxī *pōšk* Šiyn. *pašc*, Afγ. *paca*.

*št > kht, xt.*

§ 913. The change of *št* to *kht*, *xt*, is rare (cf. § 404?).

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Siv. *gus*, Vōn. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Waxī *yangl*, Šiyn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afγ. *gūta*, Oss *angursth*.

$\acute{s}t > khs, xs.$

§ 914. The change of  $\acute{s}t$  to *khs, xs*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Waxī *hāθ*, *hāt*, Šīyn. *vašt*, Sarq. *voxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yayn. *uxs*, Afγ. *ata*, Oss. *asth*.

$\acute{s}t > t(t).$

§ 915. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}t$  to *t(t)* is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Waxī *hāt*, *hāθ*, Sangl. *hāt*, Afγ. *ata*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Sangl. *ingit*, Afγ. *gūta*, etc. (see § 913).

$\acute{s}t > (t)th.$

§ 916. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}t$  to *(t)th* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Waxī *hāθ*, *hāt*, etc. (see § 914).

$\acute{s}t > l(l).$

§ 917. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}t$  to *l(l)* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 426).

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Waxī *yangl*, etc. (see § 913).

$\acute{s}t > s(s).$

§ 918. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}t$  to *s(s)* is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Sīv. *gus*, Vōn. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, etc. (see § 913).

$\acute{s}t > \acute{s}k.$

§ 919. The change of  $\acute{s}t$  to  $\acute{s}k$  is very rare (cf. § 222 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Minj. *aška*, etc. (see § 914).

$\acute{s}ty > \acute{s}t.$

§ 920. The assimilation of  $\acute{s}ty$  to  $\acute{s}t$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ištja* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *īt*.

$\check{s}n > khn, xn$ .

§ 921. The change of  $\check{s}n$  to *khn*, *xn*, is very rare (cf. § 404?).

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Phl. *pāšnak*, New Pers. *pāš-nah*, Waxī *pāšnah*, Sarq. *puxnā*, Afγ. *pūnda*, Bal. *pūnzig*, *pūnz*, N. Bal. *phīz*, *phīd*, Kurd. *pānī*.

$\check{s}n > d(d), nd$ .

§ 922. The change of  $\check{s}n$  to *d(d)*, *nd*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Afγ. *pūnda*, N. Bal. *phīd*, *phīz*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\check{s}n > n(n)$ .

§ 923. The assimilation of  $\check{s}n$  to *n(n)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Kurd. *pānī*, etc. (see § 921).

$\check{s}n > z(z), \check{m}z$ .

§ 924. The assimilation of  $\check{s}n$  to *z(z)*, *mz*, is rare (cf. § 428).

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Bal. *pūnzig*, *pūnz*, N. Bal. *phīz*, *phīd*, etc. (see § 921).

$\check{s}m > m(m)$ .

§ 925. The assimilation of  $\check{s}m$  to *m(m)* is very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Phl., New Pers. *cašm*, Gab. *cam*, Sīv., Zaf. *caš*, Kāš., Vōn. *cam*, Kuhr., Samn. *caš*, Māz. *cas*, Gil. *ciš*, Waxī *cōšm*, Šīyn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Sangl. *šam*, Minj. *cam*, Yidg. *cum*, Bal. *cam*, N. Bal. *cham*, Kurd. *cāv*, Zaza *cim*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*.

$\check{s}m > v(v)$ .

§ 926. The assimilation of  $\check{s}m$  to *v(v)* is rare (cf. § 324).

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Kurd. *cāv*, etc. (see preceding §).

*šm* > *sm*.

§ 927. The change of *šm* to *sm* is very rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *yušmākəm* 'of you,' Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*.

*šm* > *š(š)*.

§ 928. The assimilation of *šm* to *š(š)* is very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Sīv., Zaf., Kuhr., Samn. *caš*, Gil. *ciš*, etc. (see § 925).

*šm* > *žm*.

§ 929. The softening of *šm* to *žm* occurs but seldom (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Waxī *cōžm*, etc. (see § 925).

*šy* > *c(c)*, *č(č)*.

§ 930. The assimilation of *šy* to *c(c)*, *č(č)*, is very rare (cf. § 424).

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Waxī *cauam*, Šiyn. *vižafcam*, Sarq. *važavsam*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šutha*, Kurd. *cīun*, Oss. *čaun*.

*šy* > *š(š)*.

§ 931. The assimilation of *šy* to *š(š)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šutha*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *šaiti* 'peace,' Old Pers. *šiyāti*, Phl. *sāt(ih)*, New Pers. *šād*, Oss. *ančad*.

*šy* > *ž(ž)*.

932. The softening of *šy* to *ž(ž)* is very rare (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, Šiyn. *vižafcam*, Sarq. *važavsam*, etc. (see § 930).

*zg* > *žg*.

§ 933. The change of *zg* to *žg* is extremely rare (cf. § 436).

b. Iranian. Av. *mazga* 'marrow,' Phl. *mazg*, New Pers. *mayz*, Sarq. *mužg*, Afγ. *māyza*, Bal. *mažg*, Oss. *mayz*.

$z\bar{d} > z(z)$ .

§ 934. The assimilation of  $z\bar{d}$  to  $z(z)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *nazda* 'near,' Phl. *nazdīk*, New Pers. *naz-d(īh)*, Sarq. *nizd*, Afγ. *nizdē*, *niždē*, Bal. *nazīk*, N. Bal. *nazī(r)*, Kurd. *nizūk*, *nēzīk*.

$zr > dr$ .

§ 935. The change of  $zr$  to  $dr$  is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *zrayah* 'sea,' Old Pers. *drayah*, Phl. *drayāk*, *zrē*, New Pers. *daryā*, *zarāh*, *zirih*, Tāt *dairuh*, Bal. *zirā*.

$zv > zm$ .

§ 936. The change of  $zv$  to  $zm$  is very rare (cf. § 374).

b. Iranian. Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Phl. *(h)uzvān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, Gab. *izvūn*, Waxī *zik*, Šīγn. *zav*, Sarq. *ziv*, Afγ. *žiba*, Bal. *zimān*, Kurd. *azmān*, Oss. *awzag*.

$zb > žb$ .

§ 937. The change of  $zb$  to  $žb$  is extremely rare (cf. § 436).

b. Iranian. Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Afγ. *žiba*, etc. (see preceding §).

$žd > z(z)$ .

§ 938. The assimilation of  $žd$  to  $z(z)$  is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 443).

b. Iranian. Av. *duždah* 'wretched,' Phl., Pāz. *dužd* 'thief,' New Pers. *duzd*, Gab. *duz*, Tāl. *diz*, Bal. *duz*.

$žd > zd$ .

§ 939. The change of  $žd$  to  $zd$  is quite common in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 443).



b. Iranian. Av. *dušdah* 'wretched,' New Pers. *duzd*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *mīšdu* 'reward,' Phl. *muzd*, Pāz. *mozd*, New Pers. *muzd*, *mužd*, Kurd., Oss. *mizd*.

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$hn > \eta h$ .

§ 940. The metathesis of *hn* to  $\eta h$  is very rare (cf. § 277).

a. Indian. Skt. *vahni* 'fire,' Prāk. *vaṇhi*, Sindhī *bāhi*.

$hn > n(n)$ .

§ 941. The assimilation of *hn* to  $n(n)$  is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cihna* 'mark,' Prāk. *ciṇha*, *cindha*, Nāip. *cimnu*, Ur., Bang. *cinha*, Bihārī *cīn*, *cinaha*, Hindī *cihna*, Panj. *cihan*, Sindhī *cihanu*, Guj., Mar. *cinha*.

$hn > ndh$ .

§ 942. The change of *hn* to *ndh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cihna* 'mark,' Prāk. *cindha*, *ciṇha*, etc. (see preceding §).

$hn > h(h)$ .

§ 943. The assimilation of *hn* to  $h(h)$  is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vahni* 'fire,' Sindhī *bāhi*, etc. (see § 940).

$hm > m(m)$ .

§ 944. The assimilation of *hm* to  $m(m)$  is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. *bamhaṇa*, (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *bamana*, Jaina Prāk. *māhaṇa*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*, Bihārī *bāman*, *bāmhan*, *bāmahan*, Sindhī *bāmhbhaṇu*, Sinh. *bamba*.

$hm > mb$ .

§ 945. The change of *hm* to *mb* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Sinh. *bamba*, etc. (see preceding §).

*hm* > *mbh*.

§ 946. The change of *hm* to *mbh* is rare (cf. § 449).

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Sindhī *bāmbhaṇu*, etc. (see § 944).

*hy* > *j(j)*.

§ 947. The assimilation of *hy* to *j(j)* is very rare (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *guhya* 'hidden,' Prāk. *gujjha*, Panj. *gujjhā*, Sindhī *gūjhō*, Guj. *guj*, Mar. *gūj*.

*hy* > *(j)jh*.

§ 948. The assimilation of *hy* to *(j)jh* is quite common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nahyati* 'binds,' Prāk. *najjhaī*. Skt. *guhya* 'hidden,' Prāk. *gujjha*, Panj. *gujjhā*, Sindhī *gūjhō*, etc. (see preceding §).

*hv* > *(b)bh*.

§ 949. The assimilation of *hv* to *(b)bh* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jibbhā*, *jīhā*, Pāli *jivhā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kaśm. *zēo*, other New Ind. dialects *jībh*, excepting Sindhī *jībh*, Sinh. *diva*, Maladive *dū*, Gyp. *cib*. Skt. *gahvara* 'cavern,' Pāli *gabbhara*. Skt. *vihvala* 'agitated,' Prāk. *vebbhala*, *vihala*, Hindī *bihabal*, Panj. *bihul*.

*hv* > *v(v)*.

§ 950. The assimilation of *hv* to *v(v)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Sinh. *diva*, etc. (see preceding §).

*hv* > *h(h)*.

§ 951. The assimilation of *hv* to *h(h)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jīhā*, *jibbhā*, etc. (see § 949). Skt. *vihvala* 'agitated,' Prāk. *vihala*, *vebbhala*, Hindī *bihabal*, Panj. *bihul*.

*Syncope of hv.*

§ 952. The loss of internal *hv* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Kaśm. *zēo*, Māladive *dū*, etc. (see § 949).

*Anusvāra and Anunāsika.*

§ 953. In the Middle Indian dialects the anusvāra, a purely nasal sound, has been almost entirely lost, and has vanished altogether in the New Indian dialects. On the other hand the anunāsika, or nasalization of a vowel sound, became more and more frequent during the Middle and New Indian periods, until it now completely supersedes the anusvāra. Anunāsika may stand before *h* or *s*, and is interchangeable with the class-nasal in all vargas in the New Indian dialects. Final anusvāra becomes anunāsika in the transition from Middle to New Indian, and such an anunāsika is retained unchanged after long vowels in Panjābī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, although they elide it after a short vowel. In the other New Indian dialects final anunāsika is lost under all circumstances. Avestan *a* possesses a certain resemblance to Indian anunāsika.

a. Indian. Skt. *śimha* 'lion,' Prāk., Pāli *sīha*, Hindī, Panj. *siṁgh*, Sindhī *siṁghō*, *śimhu*, other New Ind. dialects *siṁh* (pron. *siṁgh*). Skt., Prāk. *hamsa* 'goose,' E. Hindī *hāms*, *hans*. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'fetter,' Pāli *saṁkhala*, Ass. *sikali*, Nāip. *sikrī*, Ur. *śikuli*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, E. Hindī *sīṁkar*, *sīkar*, *sik(k)ar*, Hindī *sīkar*, *sikhar*, *sikal*, Panj. *saṁghar*, Sindhī *saṁgharō*, Guj. *saṁghal*, Mar. *sāṁkhal*, *sākhal*, *sikrī*. Skt. *kuṅcikā* 'key,' Kaśm. *kuṅz*, Ur. *kuṁcī*, *kuṁjhī*, *kuji*, Bang. *kūṁjī*, *kūjī*, Hindī, Panj. *kūṁjī*, Sindhī *kuṁjī*, Guj. *kuṁcī*, Mar. *kuṁjī*. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sāṁr*, Bang. *ṣāṁr*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sāṁr*, Panj. *sāṁḍh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Mult. *sāṁh*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sāṁḍ*. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk., Pāli *khandha*, Ass. *kāṁd(h)*, Ur., Bang. *kāṁdh*, Bihārī *kāṁdhā*, *khāṁdā*, Hindī *kāṁdhā*, Panj. *kandhā*, *kannh*, Sindhī *kandhu*, Guj. *khāṁdō*, Mar. *khāṁdā*, Simh. *kanda*. Skt. *kampati* 'trembles,' Prāk.

*kāmpaī, kampaī, Pāli kampaṭi, Ass. kaṃp, Kaśm. kam(p), Hindī kām̐p, Panj. kamb, Sindhī kaṃb, Guj., Mar. kām̐p. Skt. idānīm 'now,' Prāk. dāṇīm, dāṇi. Skt. dadhi 'curds,' Prāk. dahīm, E. Hindī, Hindī duhī, Panj. dahīm, Sindhī ḍahīm, Guj., Mar. dahīm.*

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### *Visarga.*

§ 954. The Old Indian visarga is entirely lost in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the few instances in which *ḥ* appears in script in New Indian it is employed under learned influence, and is not pronounced.

a. Indian. Skt. *duḥkha* 'misery,' Hindī *duḥkh* (pron. *dukh*), *dukh*. Skt. *antaḥkaraṇa* 'heart,' Hindī *antaḥkaraṇ* (pron. *ant(a)karan*). Skt. *niḥśvāsa* 'sigh,' Hindī *niḥsvās* (pron. *nīsvās*), *nīsvās*.

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### *Metathesis.*

§ 955. Metathesis occurs very frequently in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, especially when one of the consonants involved is a liquid or a sibilant. Although transposition of individual consonants is the more usual case, instances of the metathesis of entire syllables are not lacking.

a. Indian. Skt. *hrada* 'sea,' Jaina Prāk. *draha*, Ardhamāg. Prāk. *daha*. Skt. *ālāna* 'elephant's tie-post,' Prāk. *āṇāla*. Skt. *laghuka* 'light,' Prāk. *halua, lahua*, Pāli *lahuka*, Uṛ., Bang. *halkā*, E. Hindī *haluk*, Hindī *halakā*, Sindhī *halkō*, Guj. *halakun̐*, Mar. *halakā*. Skt. *sakaṭa* 'stupid,' Pāli *kaṣaṭa*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha, gaddaha*, Pāli *gadṛabha*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Uṛ. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, Bihārī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā, gaddō*, Sindhī *garahu*, Guj. *gadhēḍō*, Mar. *gadhav*. Skt. *kṣēpaṇa* 'toss,' Prāk. *khēpa*, Uṛ. *phīṃgibā, pakāibā*, Hindī, Panj. *phēm̐knā*, Sindhī *phakaṇu*, Guj. *phēm̐knā*, Mar. *phēm̐knēm̐*. Skt. *vruḍati* 'sinks,' Prāk. *buḍḍaī*, Uṛ., Bang. *buḍ*, Hindī *būḍ*, Sindhī *ḅuḍ*, Guj., Mar. *buḍ* beside Uṛ., Bang. *ḍubnā*, Panj. *ḍubbaṇā*, Sindhī *ḍubanu*, Guj., Mar. *dubaṇu*.

Skt. *paridhīyatē* 'is clothed,' Apab. Prāk. *parihai*, Kāśm. *prūv*, Ur. *pahar*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *pahir*, Guj. *pēr*, cf. also Mar. *pēraṇ*, *pehraṇ* 'shirt.' Skt. *biḍāla* 'cat,' Apab. Prāk. *viḍlu*, Nāip. *birālu*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bilār*, Guj. *bilāḍī*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *samudda*, *samudra*, Pāli *samudda*, Sinh. \**hamuda* > \**mahuda* > *muhuda*. Skt. *nūpura* 'anklet,' Prāk. *ṇūra*, *niura*, Pāli *nūpura*, Ur. *nēpura*, *nūpura*, Sindhī *nūrō*, Guj., Mar. *nēpūr*, Sinh. *nuruva*. Skt. *śayana* 'bed,' Prāk. *sayana*, Pāli *sayana*, *sēna*, Sinh. *yahana*.

An instance of vowel-metathesis seems to be found in Skt. *pīcūmānda* 'nimba-tree,' Pāli *pucimānda*.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra-*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Šir. *sīrah*, Sīv. *sīr*, Yazdī *surkuh*, Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Waxī *sōkr*, Šīy. *sīrah*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gil., Sarq. *varf*, Minj. *varfah*, Yidg. *varfuh*, Yayn. *vafir*, Afy. *vācra*, Kurd. *bafr*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Waxī *tax(i)*, Šīyn. *tašna*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tažai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunī*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*. Old Pers. *bāxtri* nom. prop., Phl. *baxr*, *baxl*, New Pers. *balx*. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōša*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. *asr*, (*h*)*istir*. Av. *karana* 'boundary,' Phl. *kanār*, New Pers. *karān*, *kanār*, Oss. *kharon*. Av. *mazga* 'marrow,' Phl. *mazg*, New Pers. *mayz*, Sarq. *mužg*, Afy. *māyza*, Bal. *mažg*, Oss. *mayz*. Av. *vitasti* 'span,' Phl. *vitast*, New Pers. *bidast*, *gidast*, Afy. *vlišť*, *vlěšť*, *lvišť*. Skt. *likṣā* 'nit,' New Pers. *rišk*, Afy. *rica*, Dig. Oss. *liska*, Tag. *lisk*. Av. *fšu* 'cattle,' Afy. *špa*, *špūn*. Av. *srva* 'horn,' Phl. *srūb*, *sruv*, New Pers. *sarū(n)*, *surū*, Bal. *srūnbē*, *surum*, Kurd. *savr* 'stag.' Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθra*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pūr*, Waxī *pōtr*, Šīyn. *puč*, Sarq. *pōč*, Minj. *pūr*, Yayn. *pulah*, N. Bal. *phusay*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*. Av. *awra* 'cloud,' Oss. *arw*.



*Assimilation of syllables.*

§ 956. The assimilation of syllables is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāirañjana* nom. prop., Pāli *nērañjara*. Skt. *navanavati* 'ninety-nine,' Kaśm. *namāmamath*, Bang. *nirā-navvaī*, Bihārī, Hindī *ninānavē*, *niyānavē*, Panj. *naḍīnāvē*, Sindhī *nadhānavē*, *vudhānavē*, *navānavē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *navadasa* 'nineteen,' Phl. *navācedahum*, New Pers. *nuvāzdah*, Afy. *nānas*, *nālas*, Dig. Oss. *naudas*, Tag. *nudas*. Skt. *nakha* 'finger-nail,' Phl., New Pers. *nāxun*, Afy. *nūk*, Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, N. Bal. *nāxun*, Kurd. *nainuk*. Phl. *ānīnak* (read *ādvīnak*?) 'mirror,' New Pers. *āyīnah*, Bal. *ādēn(k)*, Dig. Oss. *aidana*.

*Dissimilation of syllables.*

§ 957. Dissimilation of syllables is found occasionally, although the phenomenon is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kakkōla* 'bdellium,' Pāli *takkōla*, Sinh. *takul*. Skt. *jalūkikā* 'leech,' Pāli *jalūpika*, *jalūka*. Skt. *dadrūghna* 'remedy for leprosy,' Pāli *gaddūhana*. Skt. *pipīlika* 'ant,' Pāli *kipillika*, *pipīlika*.

*Loss of syllables.*

§ 958. The loss of entire syllables is found quite frequently both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *astamayana* 'sunset,' Prāk. *atthamaṇa*. Skt. *avaṭa* 'ditch,' Prāk. *aḍa*, Sinh. *vaḷa*. Skt. *durgādēvi* 'wife of Śiva,' Prāk. *duggāvī*. Skt. *dēvakula* 'temple,' Prāk. *dēula*, *dēvaūla*, *dēvakula*, Ur. *dēuḷa*, Bang., Hindī *dēval*, Panj. *dēvālā*, Sindhī *dēvīlī*, Guj. *dēvaḷ*, Mar. *dēuḷ*. Skt. *dvādaśa* 'twelve,' Prāk. *vāraha*, Pāli *dvādasa*, *bārasa*, Kaśm. *bāh*, Ur. *bāra*, Bang. *vārō*, Bihārī, Hindī *bārah*, W. Hindī *bārā*, Panj. *bārām*, Sindhī *bārahām*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *bārā*. Skt. *śīthila* 'slack,' Prāk. *siḍhila*, *saḍhila*, Māg. Prāk. *ḍhilla*, Pāli *sīthila*, *saṭhila*, Ass.



*ḍhil*, Nāip. *ḍhilō*, Ur. *ḍhīlā*, Bang. *ḍhīl*, Bihārī *ḍhīla*, E. Hindī *ḍhal*, Hindī *ḍhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhillā*, Sindhī *ḍhilō*, *ḍhirō*, *ḍharō*, Guj. *ḍhīlūm*, Mar. *ḍhīlā*, *ḍhīl*, *saḍhal*. Skt. *vimśati* 'twenty,' Prāk. *vīsaṣ*, Pāli *vīsati*, *vīsa*, Kaśm. *vuh*, Bang. *viś*, Bihārī, Hindī *bīs*, Panj., Sindhī *vīh*, Guj., Mar. *vīs*. Skt. *anurūpa* 'parable,' Prāk. *anurūva*, Pāli *anurūpa*, Sinh. *nuru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paitidāna* 'mouth-veil,' Pahl. *padām*, New Pers. *panōm*, *panām*. Av. *θrisata* 'thirty,' Phl. *sih*, Pāz., New Pers. *sī*, Afy. *dērš*. Av. *antarō* 'within,' Old Pers. *qatar*, Phl. *andar*, New Pers. *dar*, *andar*. Old Pers. *\*duvitiyam kāram* 'for the second time,' Phl. *daṭīgar*, Pāz. *dadīgar*, New Pers. *dīgar*, *dadīgar*, N. Bal. *thī(h)*, Kurd. *dītar*, *dītra*. Av. *hizu* 'tongue,' Old Pers. *(h)izāva*, Phl. *(h)uzvān*, *zuvān*, *zavān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, Gab. *izvūn*, Waxī *zik*, Šīyn. *zav*, Sarq. *ziv*, Afy. *žiba*, Kurd. *azmān*, Tag. Oss. *awzag*. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Sīv. *gus*, Vön. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Waxī *yangl*, Šīyn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afy. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*.

### Contraction.

§ 959. Contraction of vowels frequently results from the syncope of an intervocalic consonant in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. In the latter group there was no objection to hiatus, although *y* or, more rarely, *v* was occasionally inserted to prevent the contact of two vowels (see §§ 122, 123, 137, 138, 143, 144, 164, 183, 184, 229, 232, 242, 256, 260, 270, 272, 292, 307, and consult §§ 341–348, 379–394). Hiatus in the New Indian dialects is not as frequent as in Middle Indian. The Middle and New Iranian dialects afford comparatively few examples of vowel-contraction.

The principal contractions in the New Indian dialects are as follows :

$\check{a} + \check{a} > \bar{a}$  ;  $a + \check{i} > \bar{a}i$  ;  $a + \check{u} > \bar{a}u$  ;  $\check{i} + \check{i} > \bar{i}$  ;  $i + a > \bar{e}$  ;  $\check{u} + \check{u} > \bar{u}$  ;

$u + a > \bar{o}$ , but  $\bar{a} + \check{i}$ ,  $\bar{a} + \check{u}$ ,  $\bar{u} + a$ ,  $\check{u} + \check{i}$ , and  $\bar{e}$  or  $\bar{o} +$  long vowel ordinarily remain in hiatus.

a. Indian. Skt. *carmakāra* 'leather-worker,' Pāli *cammakāra*, Uṛ. *camāra*, Bang. *cāmār*, Hindī, Panj. *camār*, Sindhī *camāru*, Guj. *camār*, Mar. *cām̐hār*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bahinī*, *bhañī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Uṛ. *bhāuñī*, *bhaññī*, Bang. *bañ*, Hindī *bahin*, Panj. *bhāñ*, *bāññh*, Sindhī *bhēñu*, Guj. *bēhñ*, Mar. *bahñ*, *bhāñ*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *caūttha*, *caūt̐tha*, *cottha*, Uṛ. *cāuḍha*, Bang. *cāuḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāum̐thā*. Skt. *vyajana* 'fan,' Prāk. *viāṇa*, Hindī *bēnā*. Skt. *rājakula* 'palace,' Prāk. *rāūla*, *rāaula*, *lāūla*, Pāli *rājakula*, Bihārī *rāūr*, Hindī *rāūl*. Skt. *nāpita* 'barber,' Prāk. *ñhāvia*, *nāvia*, Śāk. Prāk. *nābida*, Bihārī, Mar. *nāū*, other New Indian dialects *nāī*. Skt. *nikāṭa* 'near,' Māg. Prāk. *niāḍa*, Pāli *nikāṭa*, Bihārī *niyar*, *nēr*. Skt. *dviguṇa* 'twofold,' Prāk. *duūṇa*, Pāli *diguṇa*, Hindī, Panj. *dūnā*, Sindhī *ḍuṇā*, Mar. *dūñ*. Skt. *sugandha* 'fragrant,' Prāk. *suaṁdha*, Pāli *sugandha*, Hindī, Panj. *sāuṁdhā*. Skt., Pāli *rōdana* 'lament,' Bang. *rōitē*, Hindī *rōnā*, Panj. *rōṇā*, Sindhī *ruaṇu*, Guj. *rōvum*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk., Pāli *kōila*, Uṛ. *kōyila*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kōil*, Guj. *kōyal*, Mar. *kōkil*, Anglo-Ind. *koil*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēm̐hu*, Nāip. *gahūm̐*, Uṛ. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm̐*, Hindī *gō(ñi)hum̐*, *gēm̐hum̐*, *ghēm̐m̐*, Panj. *ghēm̐m̐*, Sindhī *gēhum̐*, Guj. *ghaūm̐*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *dahišn* 'gift,' New Pers., Gab. *dāšn*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēv*, *nēvak(ih)*, New Pers. *nēk*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aḍairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Sīv. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central dialects *jēr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīv*, Tag. Oss. *dala*. Av. *viḍu*, *viḍava* 'widow,' Phl. *vēvak*, New Pers. *bēvak*, Kāš. *vīgā*, *vīē*, Kurd. *bī*, Tag. Oss. *iday*. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōyan*, *rōkan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *ravan*, Sangl. *roy*, Minj. *royan*, Kurd. *rōn*. Av. \**dātabara* 'judge' (cf. the Aramaean loan-word ܕܬܒܪܐ, Dan. iii. 2), Phl. *dātvar*, *dātbar*, *dāvar*, New Pers. *dāvar*.

*Epenthesis of vowels.*

§ 960. The insertion of vowels in a consonant-group to obviate a succession of consonants is extremely frequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The phenomenon occurs somewhat more often in the latter system of dialects on account of their tendency toward assimilation rather than retention of consonant-groups (see § 460). In the Middle and New Indian dialects the vowel most commonly inserted to break up a consonant-group is *a*. Epenthetic *i*, which is comparatively rare, is found chiefly in Panjābī and Sindhī, while epenthetic *u* seems to be hardly found except in the eastern dialects (cf. §§ 3, 4). The three vowels *a*, *i*, and *u* are all used in the Middle and New Iranian dialects. Of these *a* is generally preferred, but if the consonant-group contains a sibilant, *i* is regularly inserted, while *u* is employed when the group includes a labial sound. The usage is, however, very capricious, and it seems scarcely possible to lay down exact rules.

The epenthesis of long vowels occurs with extreme rarity in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Prāk., Pāli *khagga*, Ur. *khamḍā*, Bang. *kharag*, Hindī *kharag*, *khāg*, *khāmḍ*, *ṣagg*, Sindhī *khanō*, Guj. *khārum*, Mar. *khāmā*, *khadga*. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Pāli *daddu*, Hindī *dād*, Sindhī *ḍāḍh(r)u*, Guj. *dādar*, Mar. *dadāḍ*, *dād*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *suṛja*, *sūria*, Pāli *sūriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhī *sūriju*, *sūrju*, Guj. *sūraj*, *sūr*, Sinh. (*h*)*iru*. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhānu*, Pāis. Prāk. *sanāna*, Pāli *nahāna*, *sināna*, Bihārī *nahān*, Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāṇā*, Guj., Mar. *nahān*. Skt. *ślēṣma* 'slime,' Prāk. *simbha*, Pāli *silṣuma*, *sēmha*, Sinh. *sem(a)*. Skt. *agni* 'fire,' Prāk. *aggi*, Pāli (*ag*)*gini*, *aggi*, Ur. *ṇia*, Bang. *āgun*, Hindī *āg*, Panj. *agg*, Sindhī *āḡi*, Guj., Mar. *āg*, Sinh. *gini*, Gyp. *yag*. Skt. *ślāghā* 'praise,' Prāk. *salāhā*, Pāli *silāghā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *sarāhnā*. Skt. *ratna* 'jewel,' Prāk. *rayana*, Śaur. Prāk. *radaṇa*, Pāli, Gāthā *ratana*, Hindī *ratan*, Sindhī *ratanu*, *ratnu*, Sinh. *ruvan*. Skt. *mlāyati* 'withers,' Prāk. *milaṛ*, Pāli *milāyati*,

Hindī *milnā*, Sindhī *milāṇu*. Skt. *klēśa* 'trouble,' Hindī *kalēs*, *klēs*, Panj. *kalēs*, Sindhī *kilēsu*, Mar. *kilēs*, *kilōs*. Skt. *strī* 'woman,' Prāk., Pāli *itthī*, *thī*, Gāthā *istrī*, Ur. *tirī*, vulgar Ur. *tiḷa*, colloquial Hindī *istrī*, *astrī*, Panj. *tirayā*, Sindhī *tiriyā*, *istrī*, Elu *itiri*, Sinh. *istrī*. Skt. *smaraṇa* 'recollection,' Apab. Prāk. *sumaraṇu*, Bihārī *sumīran*, *sumaran*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, Pāz. *raogan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *raun*, Sangl. *rōy*, Kurd. *rūn*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Phl., New Pers. *rōšan*, Šīyn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, Afy. *rūn*, Bal. *rōšanī*, Kurd. *rōn*, *rūn*, *ruhnai*, *rūnā(h)i*. Av. *spāda* 'army,' Phl. *spāh*, New Pers. *sipāh*, Dig. Oss. *afsād*, Tag. *afsād*, cf. Anglo-Ind. *sepoy*. GAv. *xšmāka* 'yours,' YAv. *yušmāka*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*. Av. *taoxman* 'seed,' Old Pers. *taumā*, Phl. *toxm*, New Pers. *tuxm*, Gab. *tūm*, Nāy. *tum*, Wāxī *taym*, Šīyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *tōym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, Afy. *tōma*, Bal. *tūm*, *tōm*. Av. *sraoni* 'loin,' Phl. *sarīn*, *sarūk*, New Pers. *surūn*, *surīn*, Wāxī *šunj*, Šīyn. *šaun*, Sarq. *xāun*, Bal. *sarēn*. Av. *xraosōit* 'should scream,' Phl. *xrōs* 'cock,' New Pers. *xurōs*, Gab. *urus*, Bal. *kurus*, *krōs*, Kurd. *korōs*. Av. *θrayō* 'three,' Pāz. *sē*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Wāxī *trui*, Šīyn. *arraī*, Sarq. *haroi*, Sangl. *trāi*, Minj. *šarai*, Yaṇ. *θarai*, Afy. *drē*, Kurd. *sē*. Av. *breat* 'brow,' Phl. *brā*, New Pers. *abrū*, Gab. *burā*, Wāxī *varao*, Šīyn. *vruy*, Sarq. *varao*, Sangl. *vurij*, Afy. *vrāja*, Bal. *burvān*, *birvān*, Kurd. *burū*, *burī*, Dig. Oss. *arfuk*, Tag. *arfig*. Av. *draoγa* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōγ*, New Pers. *darōγ*, *durōγ*, Māz. *darū*, *durū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōγ*, Bal. *darōg*, *drōg*, N. Bal. *drōγ*. Av. *mərəθyu* 'death,' Oss. *malath*. Av. *mat-paitifrasa* 'with response,' Phl. *pātfrās*, Pāz. *pādafrāh*, New Pers. *pādāfarah*, *pādāfarah*.

*Final Syllables.*

§ 961. During the transition from the Old Indo-Iranian dialects to the New, original final syllables have been almost completely lost. Final single consonants of the Old Indo-Iranian dialects have thus disappeared for the most part, and the same fate has met the old short final vowels, while long final vowels have either been shortened or else lost altogether. Complete discussion of these problems, however, belongs rather to inflection than to phonology, but numerous examples of reduction and loss in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects of final syllables existing in the Old Indo-Iranian languages may be gathered from almost every page of this work.

*Sandhi.*

§ 962. The elaborate system of sandhi found in Sanskrit, and the less artificial conditions observable both in Avestan and Old Persian, ceased to exist in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, although certain traces are still found in Middle Indian (Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, §§ 156–175, 353, Childers, *JRAS.*, N.S. xi. (1879), 99–121, Müller, *Pāli-Gramm.*, 59–64, Frankfurter, *Handb. of Pāli*, 21–25) and possibly in the Pāmir dialects of the New Iranian (Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b, 307–308). In the New Indian dialects, however, as in the Middle and New Iranian dialects (excepting the Pāmir group) sandhi is concerned entirely with word-composition. It does not, therefore, strictly form part of a discussion of the comparative phonology of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.



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## II. REVERSE-INDEX

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 $\bar{u}$  57,  $r$  68,  $\bar{e}$  86,  $\bar{o}$  101.

$ar < r$  67.

$al < r$  80.

$\bar{a} < a$  5,  $= \bar{a}$  15,  $< i$  26,  $\bar{i}$  39,  
 $u$  46,  $\bar{u}$  60,  $r$  76,  $\bar{e}$  88,  $aya$  341,  
 $\bar{a}ya$  346,  $\bar{a}v\bar{a}$  379,  $\bar{a}vi$  388,  $uva$   
393.

$i < a$  3,  $\bar{a}$  17,  $= i$  24,  $< \bar{i}$  37,  
 $u$  45,  $\bar{u}$  58,  $r$  71,  $\bar{e}$  87,  $\bar{o}$  102,  
 $t$  221,  $d$  247,  $iya$  345,  $h$  451.

$ir < r$  70.

$\bar{i} < a$  6,  $\bar{a}$  17,  $i$  28,  $= \bar{i}$  35,  $< u$  47,  
 $\bar{u}$  61,  $r$  77,  $\bar{e}$  89,  $\bar{a}i$  97,  $\bar{o}$  104,  $iya$   
345,  $\bar{i}va$  391,  $\bar{e}v\bar{a}$  392.

$u < a$  4,  $\bar{a}$  18,  $i$  27,  $\bar{i}$  38,  $= u$  43,  
 $< \bar{u}$  59,  $r$  74,  $\bar{o}$  103,  $\bar{a}u$  110,  $v$  365,  
 $ava$  380.

$ur < r$  73.

$\bar{u} < a$  7,  $\bar{a}$  18,  $i$  29,  $u$  48,  $= \bar{u}$  56,  
 $< \bar{o}$  105,  $\bar{a}u$  111,  $v$  365,  $ava$  380,  
 $uva$  394.

$r = r$  66.

$\bar{e} < a$  8,  $\bar{a}$  19,  $i$  30,  $\bar{i}$  40,  $u$  49,  $\bar{u}$  62,  
 $r$  78,  $\bar{e}$  85,  $\bar{a}i$  98,  $\bar{o}$  106,  $aya$  342,  
 $ay\bar{o}$  344,  $\bar{a}ya$  347,  $ava$  381,  $\bar{a}vi$   
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$\bar{a}i < \bar{e}$  91,  $\bar{a}i$  96,  $\bar{a}ya$  348,  $\bar{a}vay$   
387.

$\bar{a}i = \bar{a}i$  95,  $< ay\bar{o}$  344,  $\bar{a}vi$  385.

$\bar{o} < a$  9,  $\bar{a}$  20,  $\bar{i}$  41,  $u$  50,  $\bar{u}$  63,  
 $r$  79,  $\bar{e}$  90,  $\bar{o}$  99,  $\bar{a}u$  112,  $ay\bar{u}$  343,  
 $ava$  382,  $\bar{a}va$  386,  $\bar{i}v\bar{a}$  389,  $\bar{i}v\bar{e}$   
390,  $uva$  394.

$au < a$  10,  $\bar{o}$  100,  $\bar{a}u$  109,  $ava$  383.

$\bar{a}u = \bar{a}u$  108.

$k = k$  114,  $< kh$  132,  $g$  141,  $gh$  149,  
 $p$  288,  $v$  366,  $h$  445.

$k(k) < kt$  461,  $ky$  474,  $kr$  475,  $kv$   
479,  $ks$  480,  $akh$  508,  $rk$  713,  $lk$   
797,  $sk$  822,  $sk$  854,  $sv$  900.

$k^i < k$  117.

$kh < k$  115,  $= kh$  131,  $< gh$  150,  
 $s$  404.

$(k)kh < ks$  481,  $akh$  508,  $rk$  714,  
 $r\bar{s}n$  784,  $sk$  823,  $sy$  850,  $sk$  855,  
 $st$  860,  $sth$  866,  $sph$  882,  $sr$  893,  
 $sv$  901.

$x < k$  115,  $d$  248,  $bh$  312,  $h$  446.

$x(x) < sv$  901.

$xt < sk$  913.

$xn < sn$  921.

$xs < ks$  482,  $sk$  914.

$g < k$  116,  $= g$  140,  $< gh$  151,  $t$  222,  
 $d$  249,  $v$  367.

$g(g) < ks$  483,  $gn$  498,  $gy$  502,  $gr$   
503,  $rg$  510,  $j\bar{n}$  515,  $d\bar{g}$  538,  $d\bar{g}$   
600,  $dgh$  601,  $rg$  717,  $rg\bar{h}$  719,  
 $ly$  798.

$gy < j\bar{n}$  516.

$gv < v$  369.

$gh < kh$  133,  $g$  142,  $= gh$  148.

$(g)gh < ghr$  504,  $dgh$  602,  $rgr$  718,  
 $rg\bar{h}$  720.

$\gamma < kh$  133,  $g$  142,  $j$  179,  $v$  368,  
 $\bar{z}$  440.

$(\gamma)\gamma < gn$  498.

$\gamma d < kt$  462.

*γm* < *km* 472.

*γz* < *ktz* 463.

*ng* < *nk* 506, *nc* 528, *m* 321.

*ng* < *kh* 509, *ng* 511.

*c* < *k* 118, *kh* 134, = *c* 155, < *ch* 173, *j* 180, *t* 223, *š* 424, *h* 447.

(*c*)*c* < *kš* 484, *cy* 513, *cv* 514, *nc* 529, *ty* 564, *ts* 591, *tsy* 595, *šc* 810, *sc* 856, *šk* 908, *šy* 930.

*cā* < *c* 170.

*č* < *k* 118, *c* 156, *š* 424.

(*č*)*č* < *cv* 514, *tr* 567, *šy* 930.

*ch* < *c* 157, = *ch* 172, < *š* 396, *š* 405, *s* 411.

(*c*)*ch* < *kš* 485, *ts* 592, *tsy* 596, *thy* 598, *ps* 684, *šc* 811.

*j* < *c* 158, = *j* 178, < *jh* 189, *y* 331, *r* 350, *s* 412, *š* 425, *ž* 441.

(*j*)*j* < *kš* 486, *jñ* 517, *jy* 521, *jv* 524, *nc* 530, *dy* 607, *dr* 609, *bj* 691, *rj* 722, *ry* 763, *hy* 947.

*ǰ* < *c* 159, *z* 433.

*jh* < *j* 181, = *jh* 188, < *d* 250, *s* 412.

(*j*)*jh* < *kš* 486, *jy* 522, *jv* 525, *dhy* 619, *dhr* 626, *dhv* 629, *rjh* 725, *sy* 890, *hy* 948.

*ñ* < *n* 276.

(*ñ*)*ñ* < *jñ* 518, *nc* 532, *ny* 554, *ny* 661, *sn* 838.

*ñj* < *nc* 531, *ny* 553, *ny* 660.

*ṭ* < *ch* 174, = *ṭ* 191, < *th* 200, *ḍ* 209, *t* 224.

(*ṭ*)*ṭ* < *nṭ* 541, *tṭ* 559, *tr* 568, *nth* 641, *rṭ* 730, *rth* 739, *sṭ* 824, *stṛ* 828, *stḥ* 834, *sṭ* 861, *stḥ* 867.

*tr* < *tr* 569.

*th* < *c* 160, *ch* 175, = *th* 199, < *t* 225, *th* 238.

(*t*)*th* < *tr* 570, *ddh* 603, *rth* 740, *sṭ* 825, *stṛ* 829, *stḥ* 835, *sty* 865, *stḥ* 868.

*ḍ* < *ṭ* 192, *tḥ* 201, = *ḍ* 208, < *ṭ* 226, *ḍ* 251, *dḥ* 265, *ḷ* 359, *ṣ̌* 397.

(*ḍ*)*ḍ* < *dg̣* 539, *nṭ* 542, *nḍ* 546, *ndḥ*

549, *tṛ* 571, *dṛ* 610, *pṭ* 665, *rṭ* 731, *rḍ* 743, *rdḥ* 749, *sṭ* 826, *stṛ* 830, *stḥ* 836, *stḥ* 869.

*ḍḥ* < *ṭ* 193, *tḥ* 202, *tḥ* 239, *dḥ* 266, *ṛ* 351.

(*ḍ*)*ḍḥ* < *ddḥ* 604, *dṛ* 611, *rḍ* 744, *rdḥ* 750, *rṣ* 777, *sṭ* 827, *stṛ* 831, *stḥ* 837.

*ṇ* < *ṇ* 277.

(*ṇ*)*ṇ* < *kšṇ* 492, *jṇ̃* 519, *nc̣* 533, *nỵ* 555, *nṿ* 557, *nỵ* 662, *rṇ* 726, *rṇ* 754, *sṇ* 839.

*nṭ* < *ntḥ* 544.

*ntṛ* < *ntṛ* 637.

*nḍ* < *nṭ* 543.

*ndṛ* < *ntṛ* 638, *ndṛ* 648.

*ndḥ* < *ntḥ* 545.

*nṇ̃* < *sṇ* 840, *sṇ* 874, *hṇ* 940.

*ṭ* < *ḳ* 119, *c̣* 161, *cḥ* 176, *ṭ* 194, = *ṭ* 220, < *tḥ* 240, *ḍ* 252, *dḥ* 267, *ṣ* 413.

(*ṭ*)*ṭ* < *kṭ* 464, *gdḥ* 495, *tṃ* 561, *tỵ* 565, *tṛ* 572, *tṿ* 581, *nṭ* 632, *ntḥ* 644, *ndḥ* 651, *pṭ* 666, *rḳ* 715, *rṭ* 732, *sṭ* 862, *stḥ* 870, *šṭ* 915.

*tṛ* < *rḳ* 716.

*tḥ* < *c̣* 162, *ṭ* 227, = *tḥ* 237, < *ḍ* 253.

(*ṭ*)*tḥ* < *ktḥ* 469, *nṭ* 633, *ndḥ* 652, *rtḥ* 741, *sṭ* 863, *stỵ* 865, *stḥ* 871, *šṭ* 916.

*θ̣* < *c̣* 162, *ṭ* 227, *ṣ* 414.

*ḍ* < *c̣* 163, *j̣* 182, *ḍ* 210, *ṭ* 228, = *ḍ* 246, < *dḥ* 268, *ṛ* 352, *ṣ* 415.

(*ḍ*)*ḍ* < *gdḥ* 496, *jṿ* 526, *tṿ* 582, *dỵ* 608, *dṛ* 612, *dṿ* 616, *dhỵ* 620, *dhṛ* 627, *dhṿ* 630, *nṭ* 634, *ntḥ* 645, *ndḥ* 653, *pṭ* 667, *bḍ* 694, *rṭ* 733, *rḍ* 745, *sṇ* 922.

*dṛ* < *tṛ* 573.

*dḥ* < *tḥ* 241, *ḍ* 254, = *dḥ* 264.

(*ḍ*)*dḥ* < *gdḥ* 497, *dhỵ* 621, *dhṛ* 628, *dhṿ* 631, *pṭ* 668, *bdḥ* 695, *rḍ* 746, *rdḥ* 751, *rdhṿ* 752.

*δ̣* < *ḍ* 254.

*n* < *n̄* 218, *d* 255, = *n* 275, < *m* 320, *r* 353, *l* 360, *v* 370.  
*(n)n* < *kn* 470, *k̄sn* 492, *gn* 499, *jñ* 520, *ñc* 534, *d̄g* 540, *n̄d̄* 548, *n̄dh* 550, *n̄y* 556, *n̄v* 558, *nt* 636, *ndr* 650, *ndh* 655, *ny* 663, *nv* 664, *rn̄* 727, *rn* 755, *r̄sn* 785, *sn̄* 841, *sn* 875, *šn* 923, *hn* 941.  
*nd* < *n̄d̄* 547, *nt* 635, *nth* 646, *ndr* 649, *ndh* 654, *šn* 922.  
*ndh* < *nth* 647, *hn* 942.  
*(n)nh* < *ndh* 656.  
*nm* < *dm* 606, *sv* 902.  
*nv* < *sv* 902.  
*nh* < *sn̄* 842, *sn* 876.  
*p* < *k* 120, *t̄* 195, = *p* 287, < *ph* 296, *b* 304.  
*p(p)* < *km* 473, *tp* 560, *tm* 563, *tv* 583, *pn̄* 675, *py* 679, *pr* 680, *mp* 702, *rp* 758, *rv* 767, *lp* 799, *sp̄* 844, *sp* 877.  
*pt* < *tm* 562.  
*ps* < *fs* 690.  
*ph* < *p* 289, = *ph* 295.  
*(p)ph* < *sp̄* 845, *sp* 878, *sph* 883, *sv* 903.  
*f* < *p* 289, *bh* 313, *m* 322, *v* 371, *h* 448.  
*f(f)* < *tv* 584, *pn̄* 676, *sv* 903.  
*ft* < *kt* 465, *pt* 669.  
*fth* < *pt* 670.  
*fr* < *tr* 574.  
*b* < *n* 278, *p* 290, *ph* 297, = *b* 303, < *bh* 314, *m* 323, *y* 332, *v* 372.  
*b(b)* < *jv* 527, *tv* 585, *dv* 617, *pt* 671, *bj* 693, *br* 696, *bhr* 698, *mb* 704, *rb* 759, *rv* 768, *lv* 805, *vy* 807.  
*bq̄* < *bj* 692.  
*bz* < *ps* 685.  
*bh* < *k* 121, *dh* 269, *ph* 298, *b* 305, = *bh* 311, < *y* 333, *v* 373, *h* 449.  
*(b)bh* < *bhy* 697, *bhr* 699, *rdhv* 753, *rbh* 760, *rv* 769, *sm̄* 847, *hv* 949.

*m* < *n* 279, *p* 291, *b* 306, *bh* 315, = *m* 319, < *v* 374.  
*m(m)* < *km* 471, *gm* 501, *dm* 605, *nm̄* 659, *pn̄* 677, *pm̄y* 678, *mn̄* 701, *mb̄* 705, *mbh̄* 706, *mr̄* 710, *mv̄* 711, *rm̄* 761, *lm̄* 801, *sm̄* 814, *sm̄* 848, *sm̄* 925, *hm̄* 944.  
*mb̄* < *mp̄* 703, *mr̄* 709, *lm̄* 800, *hm̄* 945.  
*mbh̄* < *hm̄* 946.  
*mv̄* < *m̄* 327.  
*mh̄* < *bh̄* 316, *mbh̄* 707, *sm̄* 849, *sm̄* 884.  
*mz̄* < *ps̄* 686.  
*y* < *ē* 92, *k* 122, *kh̄* 137, *g* 143, *c* 164, *j* 183, *t̄* 229, *th̄* 242, *d̄* 256, *dh̄* 270, *p̄* 292, *b̄* 307, = *ȳ* 330, < *v̄* 375, *ś̄* 398, *ṣ̄* 406, *h̄* 451.  
*y(y)* < *dhȳ* 622.  
*yah̄* < *ū̄* 64.  
*r̄* < *r̄* 81, *t̄* 196, *q̄* 211, *qh̄* 215, *t̄* 230, *d̄* 257, *n̄* 280, *ȳ* 334, = *r̄* 349, < *l̄* 361.  
*r(r)* < *kr̄* 476, *ghr̄* 505, *tr̄* 575, *ntr̄* 639, *pt̄* 672, *pr̄* 681, *rn̄* 728, *rt̄* 735, *rd̄* 747, *rn̄* 756, *rm̄* 762, *rȳ* 764, *rv̄* 771, *rṣ̄* 778, *r̄sn̄* 786, *rh̄* 795.  
*rā* < *r̄* 69.  
*rī* < *r̄* 72.  
*rū* < *r̄* 75.  
*rj̄* < *rȳ* 765.  
*rth̄* < *rt̄* 729.  
*rd̄* < *rt̄* 734.  
*rbh̄* < *rv̄* 770.  
*rs̄* < *r̄sn̄* 787.  
*rz̄* < *rj̄* 723, *rṣ̄* 779, *r̄sn̄* 788.  
*rh̄* < *th̄* 203.  
*r̄* < *q̄* 211.  
*rh̄* < *th̄* 203, *qh̄* 214.  
*l̄* < *t̄* 197, *th̄* 204, *q̄* 212, *qh̄* 216, *n̄* 219, *t̄* 231, *th̄* 243, *d̄* 258, *dh̄* 271, *n̄* 281, *ȳ* 335, *r̄* 354, = *l̄* 358, < *ś̄* 426.  
*l(l)* < *kl̄* 478, *tr̄* 576, *tv̄* 586, *dr̄* 613,

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*hv* 950.  
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*śc* < *cch* 512.  
*śch* < *cch* 512.  
*ṣ* = *ṣ* 403, *s* 418.  
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*s* < *kh* 135, *c* 165, *ch* 177, *t* 233,  
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## CORRIGENDA

- 2, l. 10, § 5, l. 45, § 458, l. 12-13, § 879, l. 10 omit Old Pers. *as(p)a*.  
 4, l. 12 for *manuša* read *mānuša*.  
 4, l. 14 for *karkaṭika* read *karkaṭikā*.  
 4, l. 24 for *vanā* read *vana*.  
 5, l. 46 for *paṣcaṭ* read *pascat*.  
 16, l. 12 for *upasthāpitva* read *upasthāpitvā*.  
 68, l. 18, § 82, l. 15 for *pṛḍaku* read *pṛlāku*.  
 71, l. 8 for *mṛḍaraka* read *mṛḍāraka*.  
 79, l. 5 for *mṛṣavādin* read *mṛṣāvādin*.  
 82, l. 20 for *mṛttika* read *mrttikā*.  
 87, l. 14 for 'green' read 'blue.'  
 91, l. 2 for *x<sup>a</sup>āda* read *x<sup>a</sup>āḍa*.  
 115, l. 21 for *niyāka* read *nyāka*.  
 133, l. 3 for *rēkha* read *rēkhā*.  
 167, l. 5, § 168, l. 5 for *raucah* read *raocah*.  
 184, l. 5 for *rājānah* read *rājānaḥ*.  
 207, heading, l. 1 for *hr* read *hr̥*.  
 329, l. 19 for *vapsa* read *vapsā*.  
 337, l. 2, § 378, l. 2 for *chāya* read *chāyā*.  
 339, l. 7 for *dēvalaya* read *dēvālaya*.  
 342, l. 11-12 omit Skt. *maya* 'mother,' Sinh. *maēṇiyam*.  
 372, l. 5, § 373, l. 4 for *vaṣpa* read *vāṣpa*.  
 374, l. 12, § 734, l. 4 for *vartikā* read *vartakā*.  
 395, l. 10, § 401, l. 12 for *śīṛsa*, *śīrsa* read *śīṛṣa*.  
 396, l. 6 for 'once' read 'excrement.'  
 423, l. 3, § 424, l. 3, § 427, l. 2 for *śavaiti* read *śavaite*.  
 458, l. 4 for *idānim* read *idānīm*.  
 459, l. 5 for *jyā* read *jyā*.  
 464, l. 6 for *mukta* read *muktā*.  
 472, l. 3 for *taoxmān* read *taoxman*.  
 486, l. 4 for *ksīyate* read *ksīyatē*.  
 495, l. 5 for *dōgdhum* read *dōgdhum*.  
 562, l. 1 for assimilation read change.  
 612, l. 5 for *drākṣa* read *drākṣā*.  
 Read throughout Āvantī, Waxī for Avantikā, Wāxī.









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